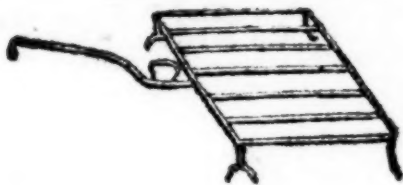


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 70.—No. 22.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27TH, 1830.

[Price 1s.]



"It is a great satisfaction to your Committee to observe, that, notwithstanding the alarming progress which has been made in extending DISAFFECTION, its success has been confined to the principal manufacturing districts, and that scarcely any of the AGRICULTURAL POPULATION have lent themselves to these violent projects."—Report made in February, 1817, to the House of Commons, by a Secret Committee, the Chairman of which was Castlereagh, who cut his own throat, at North Cray, in Kent, in August, 1822.

TO

THE REFORMERS,

AND ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO WERE
DUNGEONED IN 1817.

On the Plans of the New Ministry, as
stated by Lord Grey.

Bolt-Court, Fleet-Street, Nov. 23rd, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

PRAY look at the motto! See with what malignity a distinction was drawn between the country labourers and the town-labourers! Let those who cheered that report, NOW express their "satisfaction" that the "agricultural population" are so much better behaved than the "population" of the towns! Ah! it is come home to our hellish foes at last! I always knew that it would, and I said it at the time. In a Register, written from Long Island on the 10th of June, 1817, I said, in commenting on the above report, "All in good time for the agricultural population; all in good time; but, when that population begins to stir, it will laugh at the power-of-imprisonment bills. It may be some time first, but it will stir at last; and whenever it does stir, the THING will be put to its trumps."

Now, my friends, bearing in mind that, in 1817, a million and a half of Englishmen petitioned, in the most respectful and humble manner, for a reform of the Parliament, as the only means of saving the nation from a convulsive revolution; that in consequence of this, and for no other cause, we were denounced in a speech from the Throne by the "mild" Prince Regent; that green bags were then sent to the two Houses, borne by Sidmouth and Castlereagh; that these men then made motions for appointing secret committees to examine the green bags; that, upon the bare word of these committees, and without hearing any evidence, or seeing any of the pretended documents in proof of the people's guilt, a law was passed enabling the Ministers to seize any one that they might suspect of treasonable designs, to put him (on their own authority, without being confronted with his accuser, and without stating his offence) into any jail that they chose, into any solitary cell, deprived of the use of pen ink and paper, and deprived of the sight of parents, wife, children, and friends; that they did shut up great numbers in this way; that some of these died in prison, that others, when turned out of the dungeons and jails, found their wives or children dead, and that all were totally ruined; that none of them were ever brought to trial; and that an act was passed to bear harmless all those who might, in the execution of these horrid measures, have exceeded the limits even of this absolute power-of-imprisonment law! ALWAYS, MY FRIENDS, BEARING THESE FACTS IN MIND; and bearing in mind also the destruction of the people at Manchester, who peaceably met to petition for reform in 1819; always bearing these things in mind, let us now look at the plans of these new Ministers.

By referring to the PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS it will be seen, that Lord GREY, who is the Prime Minister, made in the House of Lords, on Monday, a

statement of the *intentions* of this new body of statesmen: 1. With regard to PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; 2. With regard to foreign nations; 3. With regard to reduction of expenses; and, 4. With regard to the RURAL WAR. The last is that which is, at present, of the most pressing importance, and, therefore, of that I shall speak first. *Parliamentary reform* is, indeed, inseparable from the other subject; but it is not so *pressing* as to time. For this reason I shall first speak of the RURAL WAR.

"With regard to this WAR, LORD GREY said, "It is only within the last three hours that we have been installed in our respective offices as Members of his Majesty's Government, and we have had no access to official documents, or no information respecting the measures which have been pursued by our predecessors. Under these circumstances, I can only promise that the state of the country shall be made the object of our immediate, our diligent and unceasing, attention; of our first and most anxious attention; for what is there which can call upon us so imperatively for our most unceasing and diligent attention? (*Hear, hear.*) I have, therefore, my Lords, summoned a Council for this evening, to consider what may be done with greatest speed, and effect. To relieve the distress which now so unhappily exists in different parts of the country will be the first and most anxious end of our deliberations; but I here declare for myself, (and in doing so, I also speak for my colleagues,) I declare that it is my determined resolution, wherever outrages are perpetrated, or excesses committed, to suppress them with severity and vigour. (*Cheers.*) Severity is, in the first instance, the only remedy which can be applied to such disorders with success; and, therefore, although we are most anxious to relieve the distress of the people who are suffering, let them be well assured they shall find no want of firm resolution upon our part. (*Hear, hear.*) I am desirous, then, my Lords, that the people, though God forbid I should say the people, or attribute to them such feeling and conduct, but that a portion of the people in some of the districts of England, should be told the effect of their proceedings is this, that while they complain of want of employment, they destroy the very means by which they would be benefitted; and that the Government, although they commiserate their situation, are resolved not to connive at their excesses. (*Hear, hear.*)

"Their first object would be to examine into the nature of the existing distress, and then into the disturbances consequent upon that distress, and, as there was every reason to

"believe, upon the instigation of persons whom that distress did not affect. That, he had observed, was the first object which his Majesty's Ministers had in view; and, with reference to that object, a Privy Council was to be that evening held. It was absurd to think of giving Parliamentary Reform the priority of such a question. The danger with which the country was threatened was to be the first subject of consideration, and must be met with a prompt and determined hand. (*Hear, hear, hear.*)"

This must certainly be an assembly of the bravest men in the whole world! Observe how they cheered every time the word *resolution*, *determination*, *severity*, or *vigour*, occurred! And, the "*prompt and determined hand*" seems to have fairly entranced the Lordships. But, now, let us inquire coolly into this matter. Let us fairly state the case of those who are carrying on this war. LORD GREY proposes to inquire into the "*nature of the existing distress.*" These words are enough to make one despair of him and his measures. Just as if the distress were *temporary*, and had now arisen from some *special cause*! Just as if it would *pass away*, if some *immediate* remedy were applied to it! Just as if the chopsticks had got the measles or the scarlet fever; and that a good supply of Doctors only were wanting! Just as if they were all drunk, and only wanted to be whipped into sobriety! Really, if such be the notions of our new set of statesmen, the THING is in a most hopeful way! Indeed, to hear them talk about "*inquiry into the nature of the distress*" is quite astounding. One would as soon expect them to propose an *inquiry* into the cause of the dirt in London streets. The one is just as notorious and as obvious as the other: to feign ignorance of the nature of the distress is shameful hypocrisy, and to be in ignorance of it really seems to argue a total want of common understanding, a want of all observation, of all memory, of all capacity for estimating the most common things.

However, upon the supposition, that the ministers be thus ignorant, still, why institute an *inquiry*; why waste a moment under that ridiculous pretence? I will tell them how they might save

all the time and expense of such an undertaking. First, let them read the next Number (No. 6) of "*Two-penny Trash*," which I have addressed to the farmers of the noble-spirited county of Kent; that fine and famous county, always deemed the pattern-county even of England. It will not be published, indeed, until the 30th of the month; but, I have already sent a copy to each of the new ministers; and, if they can read this two-penny worth of politics, and be still ignorant of the "*nature of the distress*" and the real cause of the present RURAL WAR, then, as far as depends on their measures, the aristocracy and the parsons may despair indeed!

When LORD GREY is talking of resolution to put down and to punish, he certainly does not think of the cause of the Rural War. BARING is reported to have said, some weeks back, that there was no particular distress at this time, and that the country must, "*from its POSITION and its population, always have some distress*," and that the labourers were as well off as ever they were. Then, again, more recently, he said, that, "*if the magistrates had done right at first, the evil might have been prevented*." These appear to be the notions generally entertained by those who have the power to make the laws; and, therefore, I bestow on them a degree of attention which I should not have thought of, if Baring alone were concerned. Here are several distinct propositions, and we will take them one by one, not, however, following precisely the order of this famous loanmonger. The propositions are, 1. "*That the people of this country must, from its position, always be more or less in distress*." Its position, Baring! What do you mean by position? The country stands where it always did. But, what follows will, perhaps, help us to understand what this loanmonger means by England's position: 2. "*That the labourers are as well off as they ever were*." This is a great point, at which all those aim who wish to uphold the present system; and it has for its support nothing but assertions that are as false as

hell itself. There is no man, who is forty years of age, and who has lived in England, and has been in his senses, who does not know it to be a most impudent, a most barefaced and brazen, lie. But, as to undeniable facts, the poor-rates of England and Wales (including county-rates) amounted, forty years ago, to two millions and a quarter a year; they now amount to nearly eight millions. Is this no proof of an increase of poverty? What impudence a man must have to assert, in the face of this undeniable fact, that the labourers are as well off as they ever were!

But, look at the evidence given before Committees of the House of Commons itself. That evidence contains these facts; that, forty-five years ago, the labourers all brewed their own beer, and that now none of them do it; that formerly they ate meat, cheese, and bread, and they now live almost wholly on potatoes; that formerly it was a rare thing for a girl to be with child before she was married, and that now it is as rare that she is not, the parties being so poor that they are compelled to throw the expense of the wedding on the parish; that the felons in the jails and hulks live better than the honest labouring people, and that these latter commit thefts and robbery, in order to get into the jails and hulks, or to be transported; that men are set to draw waggons and carts like beasts of burden; that they are shut up in pounds like cattle; that they are put up at auction like Negroes in Jamaica; that married men are forcibly separated from their wives to prevent them from breeding. All these facts have been stated in evidence before Committees of the House of Commons itself, and by witnesses of their own selecting. And yet here is a man who has the brass to say, that the labouring people are as well off as they ever were!

Aye, but this is a great point, however; because, if they be worse off, then, in the first place, there is ground for complaint; and we know well that redress cannot come without a change in the system, and such a change, too, as the boroughmongers and loanmongers

shudder but to think of. *Inquiry*, indeed! What inquiry is wanted? What more does Lord Grey want than the evidence already before the House of

Commons? What more can he want than the bill of fare published by the Magistrates of Dorsetshire?

When the Standard Wheaten Quartern Loaf is sold at	12d.	11d.	10d.	9d.	8d.	7d.
The Weekly Allowance to be made up, INCLUDING EARNINGS.						
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
For a labouring man	3 1	2 10	2 7	2 4	2 1	1 10
For a woman, or boy, or girl, above 14 years old ..	2 4	2 2	2 0	1 10	1 8	1 6
For a boy or girl of 14, 13, or 12	1 11	1 9	1 7	1 5	1 3	1 1
For ditto, 11, 10, or 9	1 7	1 6	1 4	1 3	1 2	1 0
For ditto, under 9	1 5	1 5	1 3	1 2	1 1	1 0

Here is, at the present price of bread, **2s. 7d.** a week for a man to *live* on and to *work* on. This is the scale published and acted upon by the Magistrates of the Stourbridge Division, in 1828. In some counties it is *less*. Why, then, look at it, LORD GREY, and then think *further inquiry* necessary, if you can. The quartern loaf is now **10d.** Let us see, then, here are one man, one woman, one boy or girl of fifteen, one boy or girl of fourteen, one boy or girl of eleven, one little child; and, for these *six*, here are **8s. 9d.**, including their earnings; that is to say, here are ten and a half quartern loaves amongst the six; that is **43lb.** of bread; that is to say, **7lb. 3oz.** of bread for each to *live upon* for a week, and to *work* upon too; and **NOTHING** for *drink, fuel, or clothing, or bedding, or washing!* Look at this, Lord Grey, and then think of extinguishing the fires by a proclamation that does nothing but *menace!*

And here, before we go further, let us, as it is what Prince Waterloo would have called the "*complement*" of Lord Grey's speech, have this Proclamation, which was issued on Tuesday, the 23d instant, the day after the speech was made.

WILLIAM R.—Whereas great multitudes of lawless and disorderly persons have, for some time past, assembled themselves together in a riotous and tumultuous manner, in the Counties of Wilts, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, and Berks; and for the purposes of compelling their employers to comply with certain regulations prescribed by themselves, with respect to the wages to be paid for their labour, have had

recourse to measures of force and violence, and have actually committed various acts of outrage in different parts of the counties above-mentioned, whereby the property of many of our good subjects has, in several instances, been wholly destroyed, and their lives and properties are still greatly endangered:

We, therefore, being duly sensible of the mischievous consequences which must inevitably ensue, as well to the peace of the kingdom as to the lives and properties of our subjects, from such wicked and illegal practices, if they go unpunished; and being firmly resolved to cause the laws to be put into execution for the punishment of such offenders, have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby strictly commanding all Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, and all other Civil Officers whatsoever, within the said counties of Wilts, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, and Berks, that they do use their utmost endeavours to discover, apprehend, and bring to justice, the persons concerned in the riotous proceedings above-mentioned.

And as a further inducement to discover the said offenders, we do hereby promise and declare that any person or persons who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the authors, abettors, or perpetrators of any of the outrages above-mentioned, so that they, or any of them, may be duly convicted thereof, shall be entitled to the sum of **Fifty Pounds** for each and every person who shall be convicted, and shall also receive our most gracious pardon for the said offence, in case the person making such discovery as aforesaid shall be liable to be prosecuted for the same.

And whereas certain wicked incendiaries have secretly by fire, in many parts of the said counties, destroyed the corn, hay, buildings, and other property of our subjects, we do hereby promise and declare, that any person or persons who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the authors of the said fires, so that they or any of them, may be duly convicted thereof,

shall be entitled to the sum of *Five Hundred Pounds* for each and every person who shall be so convicted, and shall also receive *our most gracious pardon* (except the actual perpetrator of any of the said fires), in case the person making such discovery shall be liable to be prosecuted for the same.

And the Lords Commissioners of our Treasury are hereby required to make payment accordingly of the said rewards.

Given at our Court at St. James's, this twenty-third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and thirty, in the first year of our reign. God save the King.

Look again, I say, at the 7lb. 3oz. of bread for a man to live on for a week; look at the horrid scale above inserted; and then hope that these menaces, unaccompanied as they are with a single word of kindness, can possibly tend to extinguish the devouring flames. It is *no temporary cause*, it is no *new* feeling of discontent that is at work: it is a deep sense of grievous wrongs; it is long-harboured resentment; it is an accumulation of revenge for unmerited punishment; it has long been smothered in the bosoms of these our injured and suffering countrymen, and it has now *burst forth*: it is a natural effect of a cause which is as obvious as that ricks are consumed by fire, when fire is put to them. What! know well, that men are harnessed to carts and compelled to work like horses or oxen; know that carts are constructed on purpose for them to draw; know that they are shut up in pounds like cattle; know that in order to weary and insult them, they are made to carry a heavy load backward and forward on the road, while the *overseer*, who has a salary out of the poor-rates, stands by with a stick to compel them to perform the degrading task! What! know all this! know that bells are fastened to their necks, in order that the overseer may hear whether they be moving, when within hearing and out of his sight; know that they are put up to auction and sold; know that the married men are separated by force from their wives, to prevent them from breeding; know that the House of Commons actually passed a law to authorise the overseers to sell their dead bodies! What! know all this, and then to seem to believe, that

it is some *new*, or *temporary*, cause that has produced the present effects! Know all this, and believe that *menaces*, mere menaces, *à la Sidmouth*, can tend to restore tranquillity!

But if this excite our astonishment, what are we to say of that part of Lord Grey's speech in which he speaks of "*instigators*?" He and his colleagues will inquire, he says, into this curious part of the affair; for, he adds, "*there is every reason to believe that the disturbances have taken place at the instigation of persons whom the distress did not affect.*" To hear Peel and Knatchbull, and the stupid and bloody old *Times*, talk at this rate, might not much surprise anybody; but to hear Lord Grey talk at the same rate, will have made people stare. A little time for reflection, however, steadies one's head here too; for they are, though not always pulling together, *all in the same boat*; and it is that circumstance that blinds them all; or, at any rate, makes them talk upon this matter as if they were blind. What! can these men look at the facts before their eyes; can they see the millions of labourers every-where rising up, and hear them saying that they will "*no longer starve upon potatoes*"; can they see them breaking threshing-machines; can they see them gathering together and demanding an increase of wages; can they see all this, and can they believe that the *fires* do not proceed from the same persons; but that these are the work of some invisible and almost incorporeal agency! I told Mr. BENETT, of *Wiltshire*, last week, that it was "*pity he took upon him to vouch so very positively for the labourers of Wiltshire, because here is a long winter coming.*" It now appears that he was too hasty in his vouching. He said, that "*they would not only refrain from outrages, but would be most active in suppressing them*"; though it was hard to see what cause could arise for this activity, *unless the outrages were committed*; and it was, if possible, still harder to see who was to *go into Wiltshire* to commit the outrages.

In short, all this talk about *insti-*

gators, about men going in *post-chaises* and *landaus*, to cause stacks and barns to be fired; it is all so foolish and so false; it is at once so stupid and staring and insulting a lie, that it really does astonish one to hear it put forth; such an *useless* lie, too, if we suppose the hearers of it to be possessed of the smallest portion of common sense. The *motive* of it is, however, evident enough to men who reflect that every tax-eater and tithe-eater, no matter of what sort or size he or she be, is afraid to believe, and wishes the nation not to believe, *that the fires are the work of the labourers*. And *why* are they so reluctant to believe this, and so anxious that it should be believed by nobody? Because the labourers are *the millions* (for, mind, *smiths, wheelwrights, collar-makers, carpenters, bricklayers*, all are of one mind); and because, if the *millions be bent upon this work*, who is to stop it? Then to believe that the labourers are the burners, is to believe that they must have been urged to the deeds by desperation, proceeding from *some grievous wrong*, real or imaginary; and to believe this is to believe that the burnings will continue, until *the wrong be redressed*. To believe this is to believe that there must be such a change of system as will *take from the tax and tithe-eaters a large portion of what they receive, and give it back to the labourers*; and believe this the tax and tithe-eaters never will, until the political Noah *shall enter into the ark!* This is the true cause of all the at once stupid and impudent talk that we have heard about *secret instigators*, and about incendiaries in *post-chaises* and *landaus*.

And, now, as to the *use* of all these *menaces*. The *Old Times*, always *bloody*, begins to call aloud for *blood*. Send a "SPECIAL COMMISSION," says this bloody-minded news-paper writer, which always speaks the language of the base miscreants of stock-jobbers. But what is the "Special Commission" to do in *stopping the fires*? And what so likely to increase them as acts of *severity*? The case is this, in plain and distinct propositions. 1. That the labourers have long been reduced to a state ap-

proaching to starvation for want of a sufficiency of wages. 2. That they have combined in a demand of higher wages, and have used bodily violence in order to obtain what they wanted. 3. That they have not had physical force wherewith to proceed in the enforcing of their demands in all cases, and, in every case, such enforcement is attended with great risk to their liberty and lives. 4. That, therefore, *in order to intimidate their employers so as to induce them to render to them what they deemed justice, they have secretly set fire to the stacks and barns of those whom they regarded as most strongly opposed to their interests*. This is the state of the case. And now, then, what is to put a stop to these fires? Force is of no avail; and, if force be useless, of what use is *menace*? If we listen to the railings of the miscreant stock-jobbers and Jews, those cannibals who suck up the nation's blood, we shall wish all the whole of the labourers, who give us food and raiment, to be slaughtered. The bloody old *Times*, the organ of the Jews, would send a special commission to strew the counties with hanged carcasses, as it advised Louis XVIII. to do with the departments of France. But there would no good arise from this, even if the thing *could be done*, which I believe it could not. The *fires would still blaze*, and with more fury than before.

I beseech Lord Grey to observe, that though these are, *in the eye of the law*, acts of arson, and worthy of an ignominious death, a *statesman* ought to see that the *perpetrators do not so deem them, nor do the millions in their own state of life so deem them*; and this is a very important consideration. They look upon themselves as engaged in a *war*, with a *just object*. The public in general, and even the employers themselves, declare that their demands are *no more than just*, though they, owing to high rents and tithes and taxes, cannot comply with the demands without being ruined. But in speaking of the probability of putting an end to the fires, it is no matter whether the parties be right or wrong in their view of the nature of the act: the

important matter is, what is the light in which they *do view it*? And, as I said before, it is clear that they view it only as the means of obtaining that which they deem *justice*, and which they can obtain *by no other means*. And, therefore, in order to make them desist from this terrific and fatal course, this plea must be taken from them; and this can be done only by enabling their employers to pay them sufficient wages; and this is to be done only by taking off two-thirds of the taxes; which can be done without any injustice, and which ought to be done immediately.

Besides this view which the labourers themselves take of the matter, they are kept in countenance by the middle class, who are every-where beginning to make *common cause* with them. The aristocracy have hitherto carried this class along with them; or, rather, they have employed them to keep the working class down. But the labourers have now taught this middle class, that there is more danger in being on the side of the aristocracy than on the side of the labouring class; and, thus taught, though the teaching has been long about, the middle class are fast *sheering away to the side of the labourers*! If Lord Grey doubt of this, let him read, under my head of DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, the account of *Lord Darnley's defeat at Rochester*; and, if that fail to satisfy his mind, it will, perhaps, get that satisfaction from the account of what took place at TUNBRIDGE, on the 23d instant, as given in the *Maidstone Gazette* of that date: "The meeting, convened by the magistrates, on Monday last, for the purpose of swearing in special constables, gave rise to an extraordinary display of political feeling. Soon after ten o'clock, the inhabitants of this town mustered in great numbers at the Court Hall, pursuant to summons, when, upon the oath of special constable being tendered to them, they, *almost to a man, refused to take it*. Mr. R. M. Austen addressed the bench in explanation of his refusal, in which he stated it to be the opinion of himself, and that of the greater part of the inhabitants,

that the proceeding was inexpedient, and, he further declared, that although they were actuated by the most devoted feelings of loyalty and attachment to the King, yet, as the Government had *turned a deaf ear to the just and reasonable complaints* of the people, the latter could *not so cheerfully co-operate with them*. The room was crowded to excess, and Mr. Austen was much applauded at the conclusion of his address. The inhabitants then simultaneously left the meeting, and upon their arrival in the open street, they gave three cheers to Mr. Austen, whom they considered as their representative. This, however, was a demonstration of feeling which, as it bore the appearance of disrespect to the bench, was no less reprehended by the inhabitants in general, than it was unpleasant to the individual who was the object of it. The persons summoned from the other parishes generally *refused to be sworn in*. They *complained of the intolerable burden of the taxes*, and the *inattention of Government to their distress*. To these complaints the magistrates replied, that, as they were not legislators, it was of no use to complain to them, and that several respectable inhabitants having, *upon oath, declared their apprehensions of a riot*, it was imperative upon them to take the steps they had done to preserve the public peace. *Lord Brecknock was present*, and entered familiarly into conversation with some of the principal recusants. One of those placards, headed '*Nice Pickings*,' which have been so numerous circulated, was placed in the hands of his Lordship, who declared that the statement of the income of several of the individuals therein named was grossly exaggerated. Out of upwards of 300 persons who were summoned, only fifty-two, including some volunteers, who took the oaths on the previous Saturday, consented to act as special constables. A troop of the 5th Dragoon Guards is at present stationed at Tunbridge Wells; but, although information has been received there

" of the assemblage of mobs at no great distance, the services of the military have not yet been required. We are sorry to state, that information was received here on Saturday evening, that several corn-stacks at Riverhead were set on fire. The Rev. Sir Charles Hardinge has reduced the vicarial tithes of Tunbridge ten per cent., in order to relieve the farmers, on account of the pressure of the times, and to enable *them to raise the wages of the labourers*. The vicarial tithes have always been moderate, being rated at little more than half their real value. It is to be hoped that those who hold the *rectorial tithes* will be induced to follow the example set them by the Rev. Baronet."

Now, is there not matter here for a Minister to muse on? Does he not see, that here the middle do, in fact, make common cause with the lower? What is the plain language here? Why, this: "We are so taxed by the Government, that we have been unable to give the working people what they ought to have had; the Government has been deaf to our prayers: *and, therefore, we will not now aid the Government to keep down the working people.*" If a Minister can doubt after this, he must be very hard to believe. Addressed to a community in this mind, what is a proclamation of *menaces*? If I had had to draw up a proclamation, it should have been of a very different stamp, and it should have put a stop to the fires as completely as they could have been stopped by another Noah's flood. But, indeed, if the King, on coming to the throne, had *followed my advice, we should never have heard of a single fire.* My advice was, that he should call the new Parliament together as soon as it was elected, and send to them the following message:

"The King informs the House of Commons [the same to the Lords], that he has called them together for one important purpose, and for that purpose only. Upon coming to the throne, he finds, from a careful examination

"into the state of his kingdom, whether in its foreign relations or in its domestic concerns, that there has been for many years great mismanagement; that the country has sunk in the eyes of the world; and that his people are in a state of ruin and beggary, such as was never known to their fathers. The King has traced these sad and disgraceful effects to the want of a full, free, and fair representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament; and, therefore, he recommends to the two Houses to pass a law to enable the people at large freely to choose the members of the Commons House, excluding from the right of voting no man who has attained the age of twenty-one, who is of sane mind, and who has not been legally convicted of an infamous crime."

Not a single fire should we have heard of, if this Message had been sent to the Parliament; because the people would have concluded, that a *real change* was about to be made; that real relief was coming to them; and, therefore, they would have *waited with patience*. But, then, there must have been a *real reform* directly, and *real relief* given; and these things must be done *now*; or there will be no end of the fires, until the middle class join the labouring, until these *make common cause*, and obtain a radical reform and a *cessation of the oppressive taxation*; and this cessation cannot be with acting upon NORFOLK PETITION; and to *this*, or to *something a great deal more inconvenient* to the aristocracy, the clergy, and the *fund-holders*, it will and *must* come at last.

It is universally acknowledged, that the labourers *ought to have that which they demand*. The LORDS have, indeed, not said this, nor has it been said in the INCOMPARABLE HOUSE; nor do the FAT CLERGY say it; nor do the LOAN-MONGERS and JEWS say it; but every-body else says it; it is said by all the *middle class*, in town

as well as country; and it *must* take place; the labourers must have their due. The thing will work, and is working, thus:

1. The labourers have, by means of the fire, the power either to ruin the farmers in that way, or to make them pay them wages, which payment would be equally ruinous to them.
2. All but the lords, parsons and fund-fellows say that the labourers ought to have the wages demanded.
3. The farmers can be saved from ruin only by a very great reduction of rents, tithes and taxes.
4. The question for the farmers (and, indeed, the tradesmen) is this, Shall *they put out the fires at once*, by giving the labourers their due, and by *calling them to their aid* in legally obtaining a reduction of rents, tithes and taxes; or shall they endeavour to put them out *by carrying on a fight with the labourers?*

This is the question which the farmers have presented to them for their decision; and, in short, it is come to this: Is this destructive war to go on till all law and all personal safety are at an end? or are the 113 Privy-Councillors to cease to receive 650,000*l.* sterling a-year? and is Burke's pension and Grenville's sinecure to cease to be paid? and are the loan-mongers and Jews and stock-jobbers to cease to be paid at the present rate of interest? and is the dead-weight to be put an end to? and is the army to be reduced to the standard of the last peace? I have taken Grenville and Burke merely as *specimens*. But, it is come to this: the *farmers and the tradesmen* have to choose between the two. For, it is beastly nonsense to suppose, that the increase of wages *can be squeezed out of the farmers and traders*. The truth is, that, for many years past, about *forty-five millions a-year* have been *withheld from the working people of England*; about five or six millions have been doled back to them in *poor-rates*; and the forty millions have gone to keep up *military academies, dead-weight, standing-army, mili-*

tary asylums, pensions, sinecures, and to give to parsons, and to build new palaces and pull down others, and to pay loan-mongers and all that enormous tribe; and to be expended in various other ways not at all necessary to the well-being of the nation.

These *forty millions a year* must now remain *with the working people*. No wonder the bloody *old Times*, the organ of the Jews, cries out for "A SPECIAL COMMISSION." These monsters would see half the people in the world *murdered*, rather than see their vile per-cents in danger. However, in spite of Lord Grey's declaration about upholding "*national faith*," in pretty imminent danger those per cents will be, if the labourers *get just wages*, and get them they will. What is the *proclamation* to do in arresting the progress of acts of which a specimen was given at WOODCHURCH, in Kent, last Monday week? The labourers of Appledore and Woodchurch, about 500 in number, summoned the farmers to meet them on Woodchurch Green, and made them agree to a rise of wages; and then they dispersed, telling the farmers that they might *compensate themselves by withholding the rectorial tithes*, by *making the landlords reduce the rents*, and by *refusing to pay taxes*; and they offered *their services* to effect these purposes for the farmers. Next Saturday is appointed for these farmers and the men to meet to petition for *parliamentary reform, reduction of taxes*, and a *revision of the tithe-laws*. Thirty of these farmers and tradesmen were summoned to Cranbrook to be sworn in as special constables; and only THREE would take the oath; all declaring, that they *were not afraid of the poor*; for that they were *already worn down by tithes, rents and taxes, and had nothing to lose*. Thus, the middle and lower classes are *making common cause*. The consequence will be, that the food and raiment will remain with the working people to the amount of that *forty millions a year* which are now drawn away from them. The direct taxes will not be paid, because they *cannot be paid*; and the farmers and labourers, being of

one accord, will soon begin to *make malt, soap and caudles*, at their own houses.

And what is to be the *result* of all this? Why, a violent destruction of the whole fabric of the Government, or a timely, that is, an *immediate and effectual* remedy; and there is no remedy but a radical *reform of the Parliament*; because, as I have a thousand times said, nothing but such a Parliament can adopt an "*equitable adjustment*," and reduce the expenses to what they were at the *last peace*. The *tottings-up* of the advocate for the *standing army* and the *New Police* are nonsense. The whole of the taxes must be reduced to *fifteen millions a year*; and I think they will be reduced *still lower* than that. The Government of this country might be carried on, and the honour of the country and its power and weight supported, and the taxes not exceed *six millions a year*. I know this well; and I am always able to *prove the truth* of what I say. And *why* is not this done? *Why* are we not to have harmony, liberty, and happiness? *Who* stands, or who stand, in the way of this desirable state of things? Let it be who it may, something must now *give way*; the first blow is aimed at the *tithes*; the next will be at *rents*; and then the *land* and the *funds* will come into *strict collision*. As the farmers will make *common cause* with the labourers, so the land, or the funds, will *make common cause with the people*. The Scotch place-hunting crew have long laughed at me for predicting an open war *between the land and the funds*. Do the conceited and arrogant and greedy and mystified vagabonds laugh at me NOW? Chance *may* postpone this war for a little while; but the seeds of it have taken root, and up it will come, as surely as my wheat came up last March, though kept under ground by the frost from the 6th of December.

Upon the rest of the plans of the ministers I have not room to remark here. I will, in my next, remark on what was said about *parliamentary reform*; and I will show, that, if the reform *be not radical*, it will be worse

than none at all. The *economy* talked of is *childishness*. But on these matters I will speak fully in my next.

WM. COBBETT.

ADVICE TO THE FARMERS.

1. READ all the Numbers of Monthly TWO-PENNY TRASH. They cost 1s., there being six numbers.

2. Read my SERMON on the RIGHTS OF THE POOR and the PUNISHMENT OF OPPRESSORS. It is one of 12 sermons, the vol. price 3s. 6d.

3. Read my POOR-MAN'S FRIEND, price 6d. It will tell you all about the rights of the poor, and all the laws of God and our country relating to this matter.

4. Read, if you can afford it, my HISTORY OF PROTESTANT REFORMATION. That will tell you *how parishes and tithes came*, and how *poor-rates came*, and it will show you, that the laws of the church and of the land provided that the poor *should be relieved out of the tithes*, and that poor-rates ought never to have been necessary. The price of this book is 8s. the small edition, in two volumes, and the large size, 10s. Read particularly the *introduction to the second volume*. This book will show you how the aristocracy became possessed of a great part of their estates.

5. *Make common cause with your labourers* in all that is *just*; for that is the only way to *stop the fires*, and to save yourselves *from ruin*. Call them all together in your several parishes; explain to them the reasons why you are unable to pay sufficient wages; and join them in a petition to Parliament for a reform of the *Commons House*, and for a *great reduction of taxes*. Do this, and the fires will stop and you will be safe, and the country will soon be put to rights again.

To be published on the 29th instant, COBBETT'S HISTORY OF GEORGE IV., No. 3, price 6d., containing the history of the conduct of the Whig-faction, when in place, in 1806; and of the in-

trigues of them and of the Perceval faction, by which the unfortunate Caroline was sacrificed.

Also, same day, COBBETT'S TWO-PENNY TRASH, No. 6, to be published on 29th instant, will make as clear as day-light all the causes of the Rural War, and will point out the only remedy.—N.B. A copy of this has been sent to each of the Ministers.

Also, Mr. JAMES COBBETT'S TOUR IN ITALY, price 5s.

LORD BROUGHAM!

I LAUGH as I write the words! The reader will find *something* about this Lord (I laugh again) in the *Proceedings in Parliament*. I really cannot bestow any more space upon him here. What a figure he will make this day twelve months! He is come *too late*: the *feasting* is over!

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE readers of the Register will recollect that, the week before last, I published a letter, in French as well as in English, addressed to TALLEYRAND's master, the famous Bourbon-Citizen-King, relative to the *stock* that that famous king of the "*best of republics*" had in our fine THING'S funds. Now, then, there is a newspaper published at Paris, called LA REVOLUTION, which was setting the Bourbon law of previous security at defiance. This paper had been prosecuted; but had *appealed to higher courts*; the process was not ended, and the paper *was going on during the time*. But, now, mark! This paper inserted *part of my letter* to the Bourbon-Citizen-King, *who had chosen the English funds to keep his money in*; and the very moment *that it did this*, it was STOPPED BY FORCE! All its numbers that were *at the post-office*, were seized there; and all the rest seized by the Police at the *printing-office*! Bravo! What, I have smitten that stock-jobbing THING too, have I! I said that it would be hard indeed, if my arm, which had been long enough to reach this THING across

the Atlantic, could not reach that THING across the Channel! I have reached it; I have found its *sore place*, and I know how to work it. The two crews of loan-mongers are both in the same boat: they must float or sink together. My son's letter, which I here subjoin, will explain the rest. Yes, Citizen-King and Banker-Minister, I will be with you in due time. Curious, the same postman that brought me this news from France, brought me a letter from New York, telling me that my Register, published here in *June*, about Mexico, and laughing at BARING and SIR BOBBY and that set, had been *re-published there*, to the great amusement of Jonathan! Well, I was born, to be sure, for the express purpose of tormenting these devils of borough-mongers and Jews! Ah! Sidmouth, Sidmouth! How much this *world will owe to your Power-of-Imprisonment Bill*, and to your brother Ellenborough's *sentence on me*! If it had not been for these, I should have been gardening, planting, and ploughing, at Botley these last twenty years! Ah! Doctor Addington! You will be the regenerator of poor Old England, after all!

FROM MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

To the Editor of the Register.

LETTER V.

Paris, 20th Nov., 1830.

SIR,

I. HAVING before endeavoured to make you acquainted with the state of the law with regard to the press, I shall now completely succeed in opening your eyes as to the liberty which is possessed by the people of France, by relating to you a fact which has just taken place. That fact is, in the first place, that the "*Revolution*" was seized at the post-office on Thursday night, and that all the Numbers printed on that evening that could be found at the office of the Journal have been seized also; and the remaining part of the fact is, that this Number, which is the last the Editor has been allowed to print, contained *a part of your second letter to Louis-Philippe*!

2. I had intended to make this letter consist of a description of the system of *taxation*, as the budget is now coming forward, and as this is the most essential thing of all; but, I must first give you the particulars which I have ascertained with regard to the above fact. The budget, the law of election, trial of the ministers, decision about the peerage, all depend greatly upon this matter concerning the press, and it is no wonder that the anti-revolution party wish to dispose of this matter first, in order to destroy its influence in maintaining the rights of the people in those others. It appears to me to be beyond a doubt, that the copying of your letter to the King of the French roused the impatience of the party I have mentioned, and determined them to check this growing spirit of the press without further delay. The law which is now in progress, settling the *cash-security* at 60,000 francs, not being yet passed, the Journals which have submitted to no security are the most powerful in opposing the passing of it by the Peers, and the sanctioning of it by the King; so that, in order even to pass this law, the party are obliged to resort to that of CHARLES to procure a cessation of hostilities on the part of those who write for the people. There never was, I think, any thing so strange, anomalous, contradictory and unnatural as these proceedings; one cannot compare the system to any thing one has ever heard of: it is precisely the same as if the siege of Paris, begun by Charles, had been kept up by Louis-Philippe.

3. Upon this important affair, the following is the declaration of the person the most interested, the editor of the "Revolution," issued yesterday, the 19th.—"Yesterday, our numbers were seized at the post-office, and this morning a commissary of the police effected another seizure at our office, leaving us not a copy. We do not know precisely on what account this is done. We were summoned yesterday before M. Roussigné, judge of criminal instruction, who interrogated us as to the great liberty which we take of qualifying as *provisionary* the

"honourables who sit at the palace of the legislative body. Our answers were of a nature, we think, to prove to the gentlemen of the board (parquet), that by this expression we do not deny the rights or authority of the Chamber; we have recognised its power of acting, but we have persisted in maintaining that this power, except provisionally, could only emanate from a general new election.—We do not believe that the seizure which has been made to-day has any connexion with this interrogatory. The commissary stated that it was in consequence of our neglecting to give security; but, the *cour royale* has not yet decided that the old law is not contrary to the new charter; and, the new deposit adopted by the deputies, has not yet passed the Peers, nor received the sanction of the King. At all events, *we shall deposit the security*: the formalities of the law of Charles X. require three days in order for this deposit to be effected; we therefore must defer the continuation of our publication until Wednesday, the 24th of this month. We shall then continue '*the Revolution of 1830*;' and it shall persevere in its career of *unmasking the stock-jobbing ministry*, as it did in that of *unmasking the ministry of doctrinaires*."

4. If the "Revolution" do, after it have become a fund-holder, persevere with the same powerful annoyance which it has, aided by several other most admirably conducted Journals, hitherto given to the stock-jobbers and to the *doctrinaires* (by which they mean those who pretend to a *monopoly of all the wisdom* as well as to the possession of the *greater part of the produce*, of the country), I think that the present taxing ministry will not be so successful as it appears to expect. It is truly a taxing ministry, as I shall endeavour to show presently, and appears led away with dreams of absorbing the last half-penny of the poor; but, let us hope that the dreams will not be realized, towards which hope nothing is more favourable than the stand which men of property and education are now making to sus-

tain the press. I really do not know whether it is more monstrous or more ludicrous, the oppression which is now attempted upon the press; for, it is attempted to crush it by *starvation* as well as by correction and prevention. Since the revolution especially, the size of the paper and the quantity of matter in each journal has been doubled; this has been upon the expectation that the stamps would be reduced and the postage reduced, and I believe that the journals of the greatest circulation are barely paid. No reduction of stamp is to be made, and the reason against the reduction of postage is that the paper is larger; so that the papers must, then, be sold at a higher price, or the editors and their establishments be devoted to the public! Nothing was ever so *looked after* as this press by the government: taking it as a corporeal body, it is first reduced to the regimen of Dr. Sangrado and has nothing to eat; it has the benefit of the Doctor's bleedings, administered in the shape of stamps and postage; then, if any remaining force which may be left in it take a turn not relished by those who prescribe the aforesaid regimen, plentiful correctives are ready, which also are anticipated by a burden laid upon the poor animal on the presumption that it will commit sins!

5. Several seizures have been made besides, but none at the post-office, nor has any other editor been summoned to the *sanctum-sanctorum*, which term I use, as there is some degree of mystery attending all the purlieus of the official habitations of the emissaries of the law. I have never heard of any other seizure at the post-office, and only of one stoppage, which was on the occasion of a false statement in the "*Quotidienne*," during the disturbance about the ex-ministers, relative to the retirement of the Royal Family to Neuilly; in that case there was a specified ground, and as soon as the error was corrected, the papers were allowed to proceed. There must have been something urgent, also, in this case, to suggest the seizure to be made first at the post-office. As it happens, however,

this number is unusually bare of original matter, and contains only—*first*, an article upon the change of Ministry, affecting Generals Gerard, Maison, Sebastiani, and Soult, the observations being principally general, and not offensive to any second person;—*second*, a disquisition upon its own theories, which it defends from the charge of being indefinite or mischievous by defining principles which no one can dissent from;—*third*, a petition upon indirect taxes, relating only to the detail;—*fourth*, a letter from a professor of the lance, upon his art;—*fifth*, news from the *Moniteur*, and extracts from other French and English papers;—*sixth*, news from the departments, describing the loyalty of the National Guard to Louis-Philippe, and also describing some rigours adopted at Bayonne with regard to the Spanish patriots. This last article of news, which is the only one which reflects indirectly even with any force against the Government, is followed by the report of the proceedings in the "*Provisionary Chamber of Deputies*," which is a title this journal is in the constant habit of prefixing to those proceedings. Certainly, the fact which is contained in the short article of news from Bayonne, that the Government have kept the Spanish patriots in the dark until they had assembled on the frontier, and, when waiting for reinforcements, oblige them to go to be massacred, or to retire to where they have no prospect but of starvation, is not one which demonstrates a very brilliant colour to pervade the heart which dictated the councils affecting those unfortunate men; but this is the only one which I can find in this paper at which the Government could possibly *look ugly*, as they say in America, unless it be *your letter*.

6. Now, with regard to this letter, I have already said that it was only *partly* copied. The part containing a statement with regard to certain large possessions in the English funds is left out, the statement being alluded to by the editor as one which he had ascertained to be erroneous. By the way, one might ask how it was possible to discover the

negative of the fact which you stated? I do not know how you came to learn the fact, but perhaps it is possible for you to learn it, whereas I should think it impossible to learn for certainty the contrary. Though it is a saying that "murder will out," it is sometimes difficult to prove a man guilty of murder; but, it is impossible to prove him not guilty without an *alibi*; and, as the funds afford the means of a man holding property without being known (and as if *by ballot*), to deny his having been detected is like saying that he cannot be detected; and, further, I hold it exceedingly hardy, in these times particularly, and especially of a person in that rank (I might say of that *family*), to undertake to say, that he has not amassed this or that sum.

7. So that, if it be your writings which are dreaded by this Government, it is no particular part of them, and especially it need not be said that it is that part which is *personal*; for that was here expunged, and there was nothing left but that which is found in every three lines at least which you write, namely, *the true democratic spirit and hatred of stock-jobbing*. Therefore, you must not be surprised if there be no vent for your writings in France, while the commissaries of police may introduce their little probing fingers into the post-office, and also pay their domiciliary visits to printing-offices; for, as truly and aptly observed by the *Revolution* of two days before, *stock-jobbing and aristocracy go hand-in-hand*; but, to do justice to the authority I quote I must take his words: "It is quite clear that the aristocracy of Europe have met with *unexpected auxiliaries* in the self-constituted chiefs of our Revolution: the interests of stock-jobbers have been found to be so identified with those of the feudal, monarchical, and corrupting *statu quo*, that the parties have understood one another at half a word."

8. With regard to the *interrogation*, this can be regarded in no other light than as a blind; a very flimsy blind, however, because it is inconsistent with

the other blind, of visiting the journals: and, I should observe, that I understand the other seizures have been conducted with less rigour, and the journals not discontinued. I have had the pleasure of reading them to-day; I say *pleasure*, because I do not perceive the least disposition to bespeak the partiality of the government. But, the direct and most avowed enemy of the funding system, the *Revolution*, this must pay the penalty by buying 4,800*l.* into the funds immediately, under the sweet law of Charles, or discontinue his publication and suffer the consequences of discontinuance for several weeks, until, by the good pleasure of Louis-Philippe, he may be kindly permitted to buy in 2,400*l.*; at, he it remarked also, the most unlucky time for a purchase in the funds, which have, by some devilish trick appertaining to their nature, lately taken a great rise.

9. So much, for the present, as far as concerns the liberty of the press under the King and the government for which the French people and the world have to thank Messrs. Lafitte and Lafayette! M. Lafitte, indeed, did not pretend to any great predilection for persons, so that there were royalty and monarchy somehow or other, and, if he balanced on either side, at one time it was rather, perhaps, in favour of the former possessor. While the fight was going on, he presented himself with M. Casimir Perrier at the head-quarters of Marmont, and these two undertook to forgive Charles, that he should be received back in Paris, if he would raise the siege and only rescind the ordinances. Precisely what they wanted; a king to be a little more within their control, and everything else about the government was quite good enough for the people! So that, as to *dynasty*, M. Lafitte was not nice. M. Lafayette, on the contrary, was very nice: "Voici le Roi qu'il nous falloit!" (*This is the King we wanted!*) and "C'est la meilleure des Républiques" (*This is the best of Republics*): these were his emphatic expressions on the day of the royal election. On this day the people were sorrowful; they were

as silent as if they regretted they had survived the fight, to see the ardent hopes which had inspired them in destroying the tyranny so soon stifled, and the wet blanket, in the shape of M. Lafayette, thrown over their joy!

10. The influence of M. Lafayette, at that moment, is not surprising, because, to the character which he had during his whole lifetime sustained, by identifying himself with the people, a great *eclat* has been attached to his name since the flattering notice of him by the American government and people. A great distinction, certainly, to receive recompenses, in land and money, for losses, real or supposed, in the American Revolution, or for services that may have been rendered, from the American government; a great distinction, to be sought after, flattered, and caressed, after so long a period had elapsed, and in his old age; a very great distinction, when we reflect that such flattery or recompenses were never bestowed upon any other individual, not upon the greatest victims of the struggle for independence, and while almost all the authors of the independence died in penury, not excepting Jefferson! Having thus been selected by the people of America for the courtship which, in his person, they paid to the people of France, the popularity of M. Lafayette has been not only unrivalled, but, one may say, *unique*; and, immediately after the Revolution here, the minds of the people being unanimous for a republic, it was proposed to Lafayette to become President provisionally; which proposition was made to him through the Society of the Friends of the People, at the Hotel-de-Ville, on the morning of the day when Louis-Philippe was finally nominated King by the Deputies. M. Lafayette did not say, "No," but requested time to consider. This might perhaps be considered, according to French politeness, as amounting to a refusal: however, in a very short time, "the best of republics" was hatched.

11. The interests of the Duke of Orleans, and which were his recommendations in the eyes of the bankers and monopolists, might have been ex-

pected to be viewed with very different emotions by M. Lafayette, when it became a question of appointing the Duke to rule over the country. M. Lafayette, whom the people had been led to believe was a real advocate for that form of government which takes its chief from the mass of the people, and obliges him to return to it without increase of wealth to be derived from the people; it was not to be expected that he would introduce to them the richest man in all Europe—one of the most eminent of the ancient aristocracy, and recommend his family to be adopted as the source of hereditary chiefs, upon the principle, more than any other, repudiated by that government which he had always professed to admire! The immense possessions of the Duke of Orleans, and also the *nature* of them, may render him a more fit person for the office of King in the eyes of some; they might in the eyes of the nation generally; but upon what M. Lafayette could ground *his* motives for choosing him it is impossible to imagine. On the contrary, if he could have supposed, for a moment, that Louis-Philippe would act upon his *own interests*, M. Lafayette must have been guilty of a species of treason too horrible to describe, in recommending such a man to the adoption of his country.

12. The interests of Louis-Philippe, in his private capacity, are so powerful, that it must require the efforts of the greatest patriotism to force him to relinquish them, attended as he is, also, with a young family of eight children. He is the greatest landed proprietor in France; what he may be as a fundholder, I have before hinted that it is impossible to know; then he is, if I may so express it, identified with that system which tends to the absorbing of the inhabitants, and of the riches of countries, into large cities, by his immense possessions in this capital. The whole, with trifling exception, of the Palais-Royal, which is the centre and focus of dissipation, is his property; and the revenue arising from it, which increases annually, is truly enormous. Reckoning three hundred shops, consisting of a small room only on the

ground-floor, with a front ten feet wide, at twelve hundred francs a year each, this is about *fifteen thousand pounds*. Then there are the rooms at the back, and three floors above, the probable amount of the revenue from all which I am afraid to mention. Now, Sir, I beg not to be misunderstood: I am no enemy to the fair possession of property, large or small. With regard to this Palais-Royal, which was built by Cardinal Richelieu, by him given to the Duke of Bourdeaux (afterwards Louis the Fourteenth), and from whom it was obtained by the Duke of Orleans; with regard to this *palace*, which encloses an oblong square of about four acres, and the chambers on the ground-floor of which are all let in *shops*, and all the others in *apartments*, I do not mean to contest but that the walls and the ground belong to the Duke of Orleans: all I mean to say is, that the revenue arising from those walls depends upon the growth of this city, and that the growth of this city corresponds with the centralization of the wealth of the country, the engrossing of property into few hands, and the consequent poverty and misery of the country at large.

13. I hope, for the interest of his kingdom, that the private interests of the King will be abandoned by him; nay, sacrificed: I hope that the dirty motives which must absorb the mass of mankind will be left to his subjects, and that he will seek rather to divide amongst his heirs that character which disinterestedness in his eminent station will procure him, rather than those riches which opportunities may enable him to accumulate. But, with regard to those who first turned their eyes towards him for King, they, I think, stand guilty of founding their preference upon the presumption of the existence of motives which nothing but the acts of the King will warrant our believing him capable of entertaining.

14. Here, again, is a self-contradiction, a sort of prevarication of conduct, in the constructors of the new government. They choose the richest man they can find; and then, by a fiction, he is no longer to possess property, and

every thing which he has passes to his family, he being maintained by the country. So that, it is inconsistent with the due administration of his office that he have worldly affairs of his own; and yet, notwithstanding this principle which they acknowledge, they seek out the man more connected with the affairs of this world than any other in it, and which connexion is rendered of the most intimate and binding nature possible by a family of eight children!

15. With all respect to the person of this choice, here also we see that which the editor of the *Revolution* remarks, stock-jobbing and aristocracy united. The long-exploded system of primogeniture, which is the vital part of the ancient aristocracy, finds its last supporters in those who have originated as bankers' clerks. They see that primogeniture is the means of perpetuating large masses of property in a single hand, and that this is its chief tendency; for that, as to perpetuating *names*, this is likely to be inconvenient, sometimes, to the existing generation. It would be a shocking calumny, for instance, to pretend to suppose that the King of the French inherited the qualities of all his noble ancestors: if this be the case, it must be also absurd to presume that the good qualities which he possesses are the fruit of the example, still less that they are derived from the blood of those ancestors.

16. After thus, perhaps, rather positively pronouncing opinions upon a matter which may still divide the minds of some, I will conclude this letter with a quotation or two from historians, from which I submit that, in the King of the French, the authority appertaining to his person must be acquired by his actions, and ought not to be confined to that which is communicated to him by the reverence due to the memory of his ancestors.

17. PASQUIER, speaking of the reign of Charles VI., observes, about the year 1401, "The pleasure of handling the royal treasures became such, that princes took to putting a finger in the pye. The Duke d'Albret in 1401, and the Duc d'Orleans in 1402, were

"commissioned to preside over the Receivers-General; the Dukes de Berry and of Burgundy wanted to be of the party; and, to speak the truth, the jealousies between the two houses of Orleans and Burgundy, which has since caused the desolation of France, were founded upon this quarrel."

18. MEZERAI, speaking of the same period, but a year or two later, says, "The Duc d'Orleans was a gulf which nothing could fill. He assembled the council to order new collections. John, Duke of Burgundy opposed him strongly, and by that acquired the love of the Parisians. However, the plurality of voices having brought him to the same opinion with the others, new impositions were made under the pretext of a great armament: and the princes agreed to secure the money in one of the walls of the palace, and that it should not be touched but by common accord. *The Duke of Orleans did not forget to come one night with a strong party and to carry off the greater part.*"

19. The character of the present generation is not, therefore, derived from its predecessors, and the maintaining of that character must depend upon future actions.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT, JUN.

Paris, 23d Nov., 1830.

P.S. Yesterday, the affair of the Count de Kergorlay came before the Chamber of Peers, of which there was a very full attendance, and the spectators were very numerous, from the higher classes. The pleadings, consisting of the accusation by the Procureur-general, for a libel on the new government; then the defence by M. de Kergorlay himself and also by his counsel; next the reply of the counsel for the prosecution, and, finally, a reply from the counsel for the defence, all of which occupied a long day, and the decision of Peers left for this day, and is not yet known. A change has been made in the ministers of *foreign affairs* and of *war*: Marshal SOULT replacing Marshal Gerard, and General Sebastiani, Marshal Maison.

The government here seem to depend greatly on the government of England; and the people depend on the people of England. There is the greatest anxiety to know how the new ministry is to be settled, and accounts are given every day of the new appointments, as if they had been made. A day or two ago, several persons, such as trades-people, said to me "*Et votre révolution?*" (*And your revolution? meaning, How does it get on?*) and it has been a question put as a matter of course to every Englishman, by all sorts of people.

TO THE AUTHOR OF "LA REVOLUTION," AT PARIS.

London, 24th Nov., 1830.

SIR,—I see that you, believing our London fundholder-newspapers, say, that my statement, that the Citizen-King, LOUIS-PHILIPPE had, on the 8th of November, 80,000*l.*, or 2,000,000*f.*, in the English Funds, is AN ERROR. I repeat the assertion, and pledge myself for its truth. If it be false, why does not an AUTHENTICATED contradiction come? Why is the fact denied by those who have no names? The fact is true, Sir; and you will never see it contradicted in an authentic manner. I thank you, Sir, for the information and pleasure I have derived from your able labours, and I remain

Your most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

PARLIAMENT.

Wednesday, Nov. 17.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. Nothing done but presenting petitions against slavery, by Lord DURHAM, amongst the rest. Now let us see what they will do with it, then! Lord DURHAM may now count on succeeding in abolishing slavery so far as our own colonies go, at any rate, if he and the Government to which he belongs choose. Let us see what they will do with it!

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SLAVERY. No less than sixty-six petitions this night for the abolition of slavery! Well done! It thickens the mess. Surely, then, slavery *must* be abolished. The very men who have made the stir about it; who have got up these petitions, are now in power. It must be abolished, then. They will bring in the bill immediately, to be sure!

SALARIES OF PUBLIC OFFICERS.—Mr. Alderman Wood gave notice that he would, after Christmas, move for a reduction of all public salaries, in proportion with the decrease in the price of provisions since the war.

Upon what ground will you move, Mr. Alderman? Why because they were all raised in consequence of the advanced price of provisions during the war, to be sure. How often have I mentioned this fact! But then they have been taking the war salaries ever since the *war ended*; about sixteen years longer than they should have done. How to come at this. This is so much *overpaid*, if it be proper now to lop off. Ah! Mr. Alderman, the thing presents so many difficulties, that I am afraid it cannot be dealt with by aldermanic hands.

ELECTION PETITIONS.—Sir M. W. RIDLEY moved a resolution to the effect, that the House should not, before Christmas, take into consideration any election petitions, except those fixed for the 25th and 30th of November. He moved this resolution on the ground that there must be an adjournment of the House for a considerable period to enable his Majesty to form an *administration*. Upon which

Mr. BROUGHAM was decidedly opposed to this motion. He thought it a matter of the utmost necessity that they should fill up their numbers; and entertaining such an opinion, he could not but be astonished both at the proposition itself, and still more at the reasons given in its favour. "What," said the hon. and learned Gentleman, "do we want with the presence of the Ministers on election petitions? What do we want with them? We can do as well (I speak it with all possible respect of any future Ministry) (a laugh); but I say we can do as well without them as with them. *I have nothing to do with them except in the respect I bear them, and except as a Member of this House.* I state this for the information of those who may feel any interest in the matter."

This is of no consequence, excepting as it relates to this piece of information. It was a piece of information that many

were curious to have; and, though most people seemed to think it extraordinary that a lawyer, and a Scotchman, should keep out of place when he could get in; still, having due regard to the above considerations under ordinary circumstances; still, there were here, to my eyes, so many and such glaring reasons why *this* lawyer should not take it, that I did not think the "information" at all unaccountable. But, good God! what could have induced him subsequently to *give himself the lie*, and run all the hazards too? He sees them; he *must* see them. He is too keen-eyed not to see that this **THING** must soon end; and can he think that Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne, the Grants, and the rest of them, are going to guide it to and through the trial that awaits it?

DR. PHILLPOTTS.—Sir J. GRAHAM took that opportunity of putting a question to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department respecting a matter which affected a notice then on the Order Book, in his (Sir J. Graham's) name. He observed in *The Gazette* of last night that a *congé d'élire* had passed the Great Seal, empowering the Dean and Chapter of Exeter to elect a Bishop of that See, and recommending them to elect Dr. Phillpotts. The question he wished to ask was, whether his Majesty's Ministers now confessedly holding office only *pro tempore*, would take upon themselves to advise his Majesty to grant permission to Dr. Phillpotts to hold the *valuable Rectory* of Stanhope *in commendam*, if that living should happen to become vacant before their successors were appointed?

Sir R. PEEL answered, that his Majesty's pleasure with respect to the appointment to the See of Exeter, had been taken before the Members of the Administration had thought it their duty to resign their respective offices, and in like manner his Majesty's intention had been before that time signified that Dr. Phillpotts should hold the living of Stanhope *in commendam*.

I do not know who this Dr. Phillpotts is; but it seems that he is, by this time, Bishop of Exeter; and it would also seem that he has been Rector of Stanhope. By law, when a Bishop is consecrated, he forfeits all his other preferments; but the King may commend the care of a living to *any* clerical person, for a year, two years, or perpetually; and thus, holding *in commendam* is a kind of dispensation to avoid the law. I suppose the Dr. is

now Rector of the *valuable living* of Stanhope, and wishes to remain so, notwithstanding the Bishoprick of Exeter is just given to him. I see that *Stanhope* is a rectory in Durham, and that it is stated, in the "*Clerical Guide*," to be worth 67*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year! This is the *valuable living* that Sir James Graham talks of. Now, I should like to know from some one of the neighbourhood of this living, what it really is worth. When Sir J. Graham and Sir Robt. Peel had done talking upon this subject,

AN HON. MEMBER, a *relative* of Dr. Phillpotts, expressed an anxious wish that he should be able soon to avail himself of the opportunity that the hon. Baronet's Motion would afford to vindicate the character of Dr. Phillpotts.

So, the Doctor has a *relative* in Parliament. I wondered *who* he was, as I went on reading, till I came down to this hon. Member, and then, of course, it was no matter any longer who or what he was.

Thursday, Nov. 18.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

SLAVERY.—Thirteen petitions. LORD DURHAM presenting away again!

AMENDMENT OF LAW.—Lord Tenterden moved the second reading of five bills for the Amendment of the Common Law.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SLAVERY. Eighteen or twenty petitions more against slavery.

MALT-TAX. "Mr. CURTEIS postponed his motion for the repeal of the malt-tax until after Christmas, in consequence, he said, of the *unsettled state of parties*."

There is nothing so likely to *settle parties*, Mr. Curteis, as repealing the malt-tax. Therefore, yours was the worst of all grounds for postponing the motion.

IRISH CHURCH. "Mr. O'Connell presented a petition from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Galway, praying for equal rights."

"Mr. HUME denied the accuracy of the statement made by Lord Plunkett, that there were only twenty-five non-resident clergymen belonging to the

Irish church, and gave notice that he would move to-morrow for a *return of all the non-resident clergy*. He declared that the whole establishment required revision, and that, whoever the Minister might be, he must grant it. It could not be borne, that clergy-men, who had no parishioners, should receive large emoluments; or that such immense sums should be paid to churchmen. Whoever the new Minister might be, he should be subservient to the wishes of the people, and not attempt to *rule them with a rod of iron*."

If Mr. Hume should move for a return of the non-resident clergy of Ireland, it will puzzle the new Ministers to refuse the information; but it will go against them to give it, or I don't know them. This Irish church has been one of the grand outlets for the understrappers of boroughmongers. Indeed, all Ireland has been the same. The land itself is owned, in great part, by the English Aristocracy; they own it in whole districts; they tax it at their will, and they tithe it by their underlings. It is a country devoted to boroughmongers, and, accordingly, its people are the most miserable on earth.

NEW POLICE. SIR ROBERT WILSON made his appearance (where was he when the Duke was voted out?) as a kind of sponsor for the New Police. He presented a very sensible and spirited petition against it from the parish of St. John's, Southwark. "He observed, that the petitioners did not cast any reflections on the conduct of the individuals of the New Police, for, if they did, he should certainly find himself compelled by his experience of the conduct of these men, to dissent from the petitioners, for, as far as he had had any opportunity of observing the conduct of the New Police, he believed that they generally performed their duty very well. The petitioners expressed an alarm at the establishment of the Police force, which they declared to be unconstitutional. *With that observation he did not concur*."

No, to be sure you don't. I wonder what, in the way of drilling and dra-

grooming, a man, who has been all his life a hanger-on of the whiskered part of this thing, does think unconstitutional. I know one thing that is not *more* unconstitutional, to be sure, than a military body constantly prowling about under orders from the Secretary of State; but that is full as much so, and that is, a member of the House of Commons who eats his daily bread at the King's will; one who may be dismissed tomorrow, and restored again the day after. I know that *this* is repugnant to the English constitution, and not only in spirit but in practice, when borough-mongers had less power. Sir R. PEEL entered into particulars about this Police; hoped that a Committee would be appointed to examine the merits of it, and incidentally let out these words with respect to the expense of keeping up this force: "He would not say whether part of the charges of the establishment ought not to be borne by the country at large." What a brazen age we live in! So, bring sixty millions of money up *out of the country* every year in taxes; create a swarm of lazy, tax-devouring wretches, whose example breeds a corresponding swarm of thieves and housebreakers, and then tax the country again to keep down these! Well done, "Envy of surrounding nations"! But this hint from Peel seems to have been protested against *instantly* by some country members, not, however, before Mr. Hume had had time to say, that "he thought that the unpopularity under which the New Police laboured, was founded in error. As to what had been said about the force being unconstitutional, he did not agree with the statement, it was not an unconstitutional force, nor was a standing army." At these words there were, according to the report, *loud cheers and laughter* in the honourable House; and, to be sure, the laughter that has been directed towards that quarter during this session, has been enough to convince a man, that he who can do *nothing but tot-up*, should stick to totting up.

November, 19.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

After several petitions for the Abolition of Slavery had been presented, the Marquis of Anglesea presented one from Grange Gorman, Dublin, praying for a repeal of the Union. Lord Falkmouth postponed the second reading of the Earl of Winchelsea's Labourers' Wages-Bill to the 7th of December.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SLAVERY. — Several petitions against.

REPEAL OF THE UNION.—Lord Geo. BERESFORD presented a petition from Carrickbeg, praying for a repeal of the Legislative Union between England and Ireland.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, that he had been instructed by his constituents to support this petition. With the prayer of this petition he heartily concurred. There were facts connected with the town from which it came, that well illustrated the effects of the Legislative Union. In the year 1810, there were 7,800 persons supported in that town by the coarse woollen manufacture alone; while at present there were not seven persons maintained by it. This town was placed in the happiest situation for every species of commerce, both externally and internally. It was situated upon the estuary at three noble rivers, and the finest and richest plain in the world extended from it. Yet it was now in the most miserable state of decay, he would say, decrepitude. He was glad to say, that Protestants as well as Roman Catholics, of Carrickbeg, had united in signing the petition; and he trusted they would join hereafter in all other objects. He was of opinion that the repeal of the Union would be, at least, as advantageous to England as to Ireland. It would free England from the burden of Irish labourers; which, by depreciating the value of native labour, was, perhaps, the greatest cause of the disturbances in the English counties. Complaints were made in that House last Session as to the pressure of this burden, but they were not repeated this Session, for if they were, he (Mr. O'Connell) would have at once said that if the moneys of Irishmen were spent in Ireland, the income of England would not be taxed for the support of Irish labourers.

Lord GEORGE BERESFORD said he did not concur in the prayer of the petition. He denied that the Union had caused the decay of the woollen manufacture in Carrickbeg. The manufactures had been bad, and although admonished by their customers, the manufacturers continued to supply a bad article; and in consequence of this it was that Carrickbeg lost its woollen-trade.

If the manufacturers of Carrickbeg did, as Lord George Beresford very

elegantly expresses it, "continue to supply a *bad article*," why then they deserve to suffer; but it is *so* unlikely.

CRIMINAL LAW.—MR. BROUGHAM said he held in his hand a petition, which he felt highly honoured by having committed to his charge. It was upon the question of punishment of death for offences where violence had not been committed. It came from a body of men liable to serve upon Grand Juries in London; and amongst the names that stood forward on the list were those of seven gentlemen who had served as Foremen during the last year. The petition, he stated, was written with distinguished ability and great force, and he would fain have it read at length if he could venture to trespass upon the time of that House; he would content himself with reading the prayer of the petition, which was to the effect that the law, which prescribed the punishment of death for offences in which violence had not been committed was detrimental to public justice. He considered this petition worthy the best attention of the House, from the high authority of the petitioners upon the subject to which they directed their attention. It was evident, from the statement, that great difficulty arose from the scruples of Jurors to convict, and that thus the guilty frequently escaped punishment altogether. He believed the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) agreed with him in the principle, though they, perhaps, differed in some matters of detail.

MR. DENMAN also supported the prayer of the petition. He considered it most important, and that it required the best attention of the House. It clearly showed the painful alternative to which Jurors were exposed, that of unjustly and unrighteously condemning a man to death, or else that of violating their conscientious feelings, by deciding contrary to evidence. Laid on the Table.

This is plainly recoiling from the work of slaughter. It is telling the act-of-parliament makers, "Your orders are too bloody for us to obey"! And this is the greatest scandal that can light upon a nation's laws. I should like to know the number of men and women (for there are not a few *women*) that have been hanged for forgery in England since the setting up of the Bank of England.

THE LABOURING POOR.—LORD NUGENT rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to promote the employment of the labouring poor, by free hiring and fair wages. He explained, that the first clause was intended to grapple with that system, known to most who had turned their attention to the subject, which related to what were called roundsmen; and he was not over-stating the matter when he said that that system was calculated to

burden the rate-payer, and to degrade and depress the agricultural population. The remaining clauses were not mandatory, but merely permissive, to enable parishes disposed to establish a labour-rate to do so, by a majority of two-thirds of the vestry. He hoped by this measure to bring the labour of parishes to a fair and open competition. He would not trust himself with a description of the distress and misery which last year prevailed in the county in which he happened to live, and in some others where the price of labour was unnaturally low. He could not express half of what he felt and knew, and his object was to mitigate and not to exasperate any bitterness between the two parties. In several parishes in the county in which he lived, the rate of wages for single men had not exceeded 3s. 6d. per week, while the peck of flour, the lowest ratio of human sustenance for a week, cost not less than 3s. It was due to the agricultural labourers to state that, notwithstanding the severe distress to which he had referred, the calendar at the assizes and quarter sessions at the close of the winter, when labour was cheapest, presented a less number of criminals than for several preceding years. His Lordship concluded by moving for leave to bring in his bill.

Only one question. Will this bill, or will any of your bills, put money into the farmer's pocket, wherewith he can buy more labour than he can now? If "yes," then you are doing great good; for the farmers have work that wants to be done, and the labourers are ready to do it. If "no," you may just as well (better) be asleep.

Monday, Nov. 22.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

DECLARATIONS OF MINISTERS.—The Marquis of LANSDOWN addressed the House in a very low tone of voice. We understood him to state, that he was anxious to say a few words to their Lordships. He had been intrusted with several petitions, which he was accidentally prevented from presenting on a former evening, by the speech of the noble and learned Lord then on the Woolsack, respecting the introduction of the Regency Bill; and he trusted that even now, after having been raised to office, he might stand excused in presenting petitions, which expressed an anxiety more or less strong for parliamentary reform, if he stated the terms on which he would have previously promoted this measure. There was no noble Lord then present who could be more desirous to preserve our settled institutions; but with respect to these petitions he was bound to state, that so far he agreed with the sentiments they professed, as to be of opinion that some amendment was necessary in the representation of the people of this country; and he trusted that when they were called to the consideration of this most

important and anxious subject, they would take care that some supposed amendment was not made for the sake of change, but that the change made would be in fact an amendment. He felt that in stating some amendment on the representation was necessary, he was borne out by the present condition of the constituency of the country. When he looked to the great interests, commercial and manufacturing, consisting as they did of bodies of informed and enlightened persons which had been called into existence by the prosperity of the country, by the increased diffusion of wealth, and by the progress of science and discovery; when he recollected that those great and useful bodies were without direct connexion with the legislature (on which direct connexion for all classes of the people, he believed the safety, nay, even the existence of the Constitution depended), he could not bring himself to think reform was not necessary; and the more especially when he considered that there were parts of the country in which there was not the shadow of representation. He was, therefore, a friend to *amendment* in the representative system; but with all his feelings in its favour, he was prepared for one to say, that *there was no reform in Parliament which did not leave to the property and knowledge of the country, those two great elements of civilized society, a share*, and he would even say, a *preponderating share*, in the representation; there was no such reform which, *as an honest man he could recommend*. (Hear, hear.) But for the reasons he had stated, the subject would be one of anxious deliberation to Parliament; and perhaps he might be allowed to take that opportunity of declaring, that however flattered and honoured he might have felt himself by the gracious kindness of his Majesty in raising him to a place in his councils, yet he could not, in justice to himself, have availed himself of his Majesty's confidence and condescension, if he had not had reason to confide both in the inclination and the means of his noble Friend now at the head of the Government; if he had not reason to place entire confidence in the assurance that he would turn his powerful mind, not only to the question of parliamentary reform, but to many other considerations which now pressed upon the attention of the administration, at a time of great emergency. Having now stated what his feelings were, and the confidence he had in the intentions of his noble Friend, he had only to add, that he would turn his mind to this subject, and endeavour, as far as in him lay, *to do justice to the people and the legislature*. The noble Marquis then presented a petition from Glasgow, praying for parliamentary reform.

Earl GREY then spoke to the following effect:—"My Lords, I have heard, with much satisfaction, what has been just said by my noble Friend, and, my Lords, I feel inclined to take the occasion of what has fallen from him, to state very shortly what I hope will not be unbecoming in me on this occasion. I am

desirous to say a few words in explanation of the principles upon which I, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, have accepted the high office to which, in the most kind and gracious manner, he has been pleased to call me, and in which my best services are due. My Lords, on this most important subject it cannot be necessary for me to say much: my opinions on this question have been long made known to you, and on more than one occasion. It is not long since I felt called on to explain them at some length to your Lordships in the debate which took place on the first day of this Session. I then stated, and I now repeat my conviction of the necessity, that the Government (by whom alone the question can be satisfactorily taken up and settled) should take into their immediate consideration *the state of the Representation*, with a view to the corrections of those defects which have been occasioned in it by the operation of time, and the re-establishment of that confidence upon the part of the people, which I am afraid Parliament does not at present enjoy to the full extent that is necessary for the welfare and safety of the country. I said, too, my Lords, at the same time, and I now repeat it, that I will not support any of those fanciful and extensive plans which would lead, not to Reform, but to confusion. (Cheers.) I do not support universal suffrage, nor other of those very extensive changes which have been, I regret to say, too much promulgated in this country. (Cheers.) I wish to stand upon the true principle, some Reform being necessary, and I am sure your Lordships cannot fail to see that, to fix that principle on which we desire to regulate Reform, is no task of slight difficulty. But, my Lords, our principle would be to do as much as may be necessary to secure to the people their due influence in the great council in which they are more particularly represented, and by that means to restore satisfaction and confidence in that degree which every Government required prosperously to conduct the affairs of state, and this I would propose to do with due and fitting regard to the settled institutions of the country. The earnest desire to embark in sudden change, which must inevitably produce disturbance, I do not share, on the contrary, I reject it utterly. My Lords, I do not know that it is necessary for me to say more. It is obviously impossible for me now to lay before your Lordships the details of any plan. Suffice it, therefore, for me to say, in general terms, I acknowledge the necessity of a Reform in the Representation, and that it is my anxious wish to regulate that Reform in such a manner as to restore confidence and satisfaction upon the part of the people without interfering with any thing that exists according to the established principles of the Constitution. (Cheers.) I am not disposed to meddle with the settled institutions of the country, and I am altogether averse to those fanciful alterations, which, if they could be carried into effect, would produce no result excepting that of occasioning a lamentable

collision between the several orders of the State, the firm union and mutual interests of which it will ever be my object to maintain. So much, my Lords, with regard to this subject, on which it will be only necessary for me to add, that before I endeavoured to unite all those, whom I considered most likely to advance the interests of the country, to myself, in his Majesty's Councils, *I had his most gracious sanction to be allowed*, at a proper period, to submit a measure of this nature and with this object, *for the approval of his Majesty*, and I am sure your Lordships will, at once, understand that, notwithstanding the most extensive industry upon our part, the question is one not lightly to be taken up, being, as it is, one requiring time and consideration, and that besides the load of official business to which we will be subjected, must be such that I could hardly be expected, at this moment, to have any specific motion to submit. My Lords, there are one or two other subjects on which I conceive it will be becoming in me to say a few words. We have succeeded to the administration of affairs in a season of unparalleled difficulty. (Hear, hear, hear.) All I can say is, that on the subject of the motion for Monday next, I look with the utmost anxiety, from the reference it bears to the labouring classes, and the whole situation of the country. (Hear, hear.) It is only within the last three hours that we have been installed in our respective offices as Members of his Majesty's Government, and we have had no access to official documents, or no information respecting the measures which have been pursued by our predecessors. Under these circumstances, I can only promise that the state of the country shall be made the object of our immediate, our diligent and unceasing attention, of our first and most anxious attention; for what is there which can call upon us so imperatively for our most unceasing and diligent attention. (Hear, hear.) I have, therefore, my Lords, summoned a Council for this evening, to consider *what may be done with the greatest speed and effect*. To relieve the distress which now so unhappily exists in different parts of the country, will be the first and most anxious end of our deliberations; but I here declare for myself (and in doing so, I also speak for my colleagues), I declare that it is my *determined resolution*, wherever outrages are perpetrated, or excesses committed, to *suppress them with severity and vigour*. (Cheers). Severity is, in the first instance, the only remedy which can be applied to such disorders with success; and, therefore, although we are most anxious to relieve the distress of the people who are suffering, let them be well assured *they shall find no want of firm resolution upon our part*. (Hear, hear.) I am desirous, then, my Lords, that the people, though God forbid I should say the people, or attribute to them such feelings and conduct; but that a portion of the people in some of the districts of England should be told the

effect of their proceedings is this, that while they complain of want of employment, they destroy the very means by which they would be benefitted; and that the Government, although they commiserate their situation, are resolved not to connive at their excesses. (Hear, hear.) So far, my Lords, respecting our domestic concerns; but there is another subject closely, I might say intimately, connected with them, to which I will advert. My Lords, a *reduction of all unnecessary expense* is the firm resolution of myself and my colleagues, maintaining, however, all that is positively required for the support and service of the Government (hear, hear), while we cut off with an unsparing hand all that is not demanded for the interests, the honour, and the welfare of the country. (Hear.) We have, in our appointment to office, already cut off some places about which there has been a discussion elsewhere (hear); but do not suppose that we limit our views to that. No, my Lords, every part of the Government is open to consideration and revision, and I can assure your Lordships that future reductions will be made with all the care and diligence which we can apply to the subject. Connected with the question of economy and retrenchment is *doubtless that of maintaining the public credit*; and on this I will merely observe, that it is at once our interest and our duty, as it shall be our object, to support *public credit by all means in our power*. The only other point which it remains for me to explain is our resolution with respect to foreign powers. On this, as on the other branches into which I have divided my statement, I must say hitherto we have had no means of knowing what has been done upon this subject by our predecessors. But, my Lords, I now repeat in office what I before stated as my opinion, that the first object, interest and duty of the British Government should be to maintain, by all means consistent with the honour of the country, the preservation of peace. (Hear, hear.) The true policy of this country is to *maintain universal peace*, and therefore the first object of this country ought to be non-interference. (Hear, hear.) I cannot say more, not knowing what has been the course pursued by my predecessors; but in looking to the means by which peace may be preserved, we must also look to the maintenance of our connexion with the powers with whom we are in alliance. (Hear.) It must be the care of the new Government, as I have no doubt it was of the old, to maintain a proper connexion with our allies, for the purpose of keeping unbroken the peace of Europe. With France I trust we shall be able to hold the most friendly relations. Between two great and powerful nations, standing on the same principles of public liberty, the union arising from community of sentiment and feeling ought to be the closest and the most enduring; it should teach them to seek and to promote each the welfare and the happiness of the other, and cautiously to avoid all

views of aggrandizement and ambition, which might endanger the stability of empires and disturb the peace of the world. (Cheers.) My Lords, to sum up in a few words, the principles on which I stand will, I trust, be found to be these, amelioration of abuses, promotion of economy, and the endeavour to preserve peace consistently with the honour of the country. (Hear, hear.) Under these principles I have undertaken a task, to which I have not the affectation or presumption to consider myself equal. At my advanced age, retirement and repose would be more fitted to the circumstances under which I am placed, than that active and anxious exertion to which I shall be subjected in the high office to which my gracious Sovereign has been pleased to call me. But, my Lords, the fact that I am now here arises from no merits of my own; it may rather be considered as founded upon accident. My Lords, I remembered my age and my limited capabilities, but I knew, that if I declined the task which had been allotted to me, there was reason to fear the attempt to form an Administration might have failed altogether. Urged, therefore, my Lords, by my public duty to attempt that to which I am not equal, my only trust is in the support of this House and of the public; and, above all, in the gracious kindness and confidence of his Majesty, which alone can carry me through. With this support I am ready to attempt all things for the service of the country; looking always to the principles on which I have demanded this support, and claiming now that indulgence which may be well and justly accorded to an administration formed under such circumstances, and so recently completed. If hereafter it shall be found that I cannot execute what I have undertaken—if I cannot conduct the public affairs in a manner satisfactory to those from whom I claim support—if it be proved that I am unable to bear the load I have essayed to carry, I shall be ready to resign into his Majesty's hands that power which he has so graciously, so kindly, and so confidently submitted to me. (Hear, hear.) It is not necessary for me to repeat my gratitude for the confidence of his most Gracious Majesty, which alone enabled me to form an administration so rapidly and under such peculiar circumstances. It is only this day week when I was listening on the other side of the House to the speech of the noble and learned Lord lately on the Woolsack, and little did I then suppose that such an event would come to pass. It is only by the gracious confidence of the Sovereign that I have been within this short space of time enabled to assemble around me, with no view to Parliamentary influence, and without any view except to the efficiency of the persons, the friends with whom I act. My Lords, the administration stands before you and the public, You know the persons—you have heard our principles; and for the maintenance of them we throw ourselves upon the confidence and support of our Sovereign, the House, and the country." (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of RADNOR was of opinion that the *limited declaration* made by the noble Lord would scatter dismay and consternation through the country. He contended that giving representatives to the *great manufacturing towns* was doing nothing, when they proposed to leave the most objectionable part of the system untouched.

Earl GREY—"I am surprised at the manner in which the noble Earl has received what I said. I stated, that I think the question of reform should be taken into consideration; and that I had the *permission of his Majesty* to bring before him, at a proper time, a plan for reforming the representation. What I said was, that looking with apprehension to the wild and fanciful theories which I regretted were too much promulgated, but feeling also that the defects which had been occasioned by time in the representation required correction, my object would be to propose, if the happy medium can be found, such a reform as would in this respect satisfy the public expectation, without endangering, *here was the limit*, and the only limit (cheers) by sudden change and violent disturbance, *the settled institutions of the country*. (Loud cheers.) Does my noble Friend mean to say, that a reform which rested on that statement would be at once rejected by the country? If so, I tell him that those who would thus reject it *expect revolution*, and not reform. (Loud cheers.) My great object is the desire of preventing that which, be it needed as it may, must always be the greatest of possible evils. The principle of my reform is to prevent the necessity for Revolution. And I must say, I do not think it fair of my noble Friend to look for a declaration less limited, or to wish for details. I trust the House will be satisfied with the principle of the limit I put, and which has been so much misrepresented. When did he find that I limited the reform to giving representatives to the large towns? The principle on which I mean to act is neither more nor less than that of reforming, to preserve and not to overthrow." (Cheers.)

The Marquis of LANDSDOWN also defended himself from *having limited the proposed reform to giving representatives to the large towns*. He contended it was impossible for them to enter into the details of a measure so difficult, and he trusted the House would not expect them to say more upon the subject, or themselves prejudice the measure by any observation, until it had ripened into such a shape that it could be produced before their Lordships and the *sober and thinking part of the community*, who wished to preserve and improve, not to subvert, *the institutions of the country*. (Cheers.)

The Earl of RADNOR observed, that if the noble Marquis did not talk of giving representatives to the large towns (no, no), at least, he appealed to the House if this was not the interpretation to be put on what he said?

Lord WHARNCLIFFE felt satisfaction at the acknowledgment that reform was necessary. It was too late to shut the door entirely to re-

form. What, then, was to be done? That which the noble Earl had stated, to reform the representation, while they at the same time preserved the *Monarchy and the institutions* of the country; and if he did so he should have his support, and, he trusted, that of every thinking man. There were other points of the noble Earl's speech which he had heard with great satisfaction. The declaration that peace was to be preserved, as long as it could be consistently with the honour of the country, gave him great pleasure, and retrenchment, so far as it could be carried *without injury to the public service*, should have his cordial support. But would the noble Earl permit him to offer him a word of advice? The party of which the noble Earl had long been the leader, had always been *too prone to give way to popular clamour*; but he trusted the noble Earl would not suffer himself to be led away by it. The people were now persuaded that the most *extravagant benefits* would result from parliamentary reform, but even were it granted in the fullest extent, they might find that their distress would not only remain, but perhaps, that they *had been following a false light*, which would *guide them to their ruin*. He assured the noble Earl, he was desirous to give him his full support. He would certainly watch the proceedings of his Administration anxiously, but from him he should never meet unnecessary opposition.

The Earl of CAERNARVON complained that there were no details of the noble Earl's measure to be gathered, except by a vague surmise. He had always believed that some reform was necessary, and that the refusal of all reform must have occasioned *the destruction of the country*; but he could not believe that reform, radical or moderate, would be found to be a sovereign remedy for the public distress of the people. The noble Earl would find that there was no safety for his Government and the country in *yielding to popular clamour*; when the people found that their distress was increased *after the attainment of their present object*, this disappointment would bring the danger of the country to its climax. He trusted Government would not leave to individuals in the other House the task of inquiring into the *state of the peasantry*. They should look to the causes which had for the last fifteen years tended to create that distress, and they should consider the progress of that system by which the peasantry of whole districts, some reduced to *receive their miserable subsistence* from the poor-rates, and four or five families were compelled to *seek shelter under the same roof*, a system which made the poor of England *worse than any poor in the world*. He thought however, that something might be yet done to restore *comfort to the peasant and competence to the farmer*: but he suggested that any bill to alter the poor-laws being in the nature of a money bill, should originate in another place. It was well known, that during the last twelve months, agricultural capital had greatly diminished. There could be little doubt that it

had been reduced a half. What were the best means of remedying that evil the present was not the proper time to inquire; but he hoped that the subject would very speedily attract the notice of his Majesty's Government and of Parliament. He trusted that that subject, like the subject of parliamentary reform, would be taken up by his Majesty's Government, and would be brought by them before Parliament. The only course was to look the danger in the face. If, doing so, they adopted wise and prudent measures, they would eventually reap the fruits of their decision.

Earl GREY observed, that after he had stated that the principle of parliamentary reform was recognised by his Majesty's Government, he should have thought that the warmest friend to reform would have abstained at the present moment from entering at any length upon the subject. It was probable that, on the principle of the measure which it might be desirable to adopt, there was not much difference between his noble Friend and himself; but at present it was impossible for him to go into any details. The only purpose, however, for which he rose, was to correct what appeared to be a misconception. In the observations which he had addressed to their Lordships, he did not connect the question of reform with the question respecting the distresses of the country. He had treated the two subjects separately and distinctly. So far, indeed, had he been from connecting them, that he had unequivocally stated that the first subject which pressed itself on the consideration of his Majesty's new Ministers was the state of the country; that their first object would be to examine into the nature of the existing distress, and then into the disturbances consequent upon that distress, and, as there was every reason to believe, *upon the instigation of persons whom that distress did not affect*. That, he had observed, was the first object which his Majesty's Ministers had in view; and, with reference to that object, a Privy Council was to be that evening held. It was absurd to think of giving Parliamentary reform the priority of such a question. The danger with which the country was threatened was to be the first subject of consideration, and must be met with a *prompt and determined hand*. (Hear, hear, hear.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

DR. PHILLPOTTS.—I forget what was Sir James Graham's notice of motion; but here is an ex-parte explanation in anticipation, I suppose, of it. I put it on record because it throws a little light on church revenues. Contrast the admission of Mr. Phillpotts, as to the value of the living, with the sum stated in the only book that we have professing to give an account of the value of church livings!

Mr. RICE moved that a New Writ be issued for the election of a member for the county of Cumberland, in the room of Sir James Graham, who had accepted the office of First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty.

Mr. PHILPOTTS, on this question being put, said that a motion respecting the living of Stanhope had been put upon the books by the honourable Member who had now vacated his seat, and as that motion could not now come on, for a short time at least, and, in the mean time, the Right Rev. Prelate, referred to in that motion was subjected to the effect of those mistakes that had been circulated respecting him, he (Mr. Philpotts) trusted that the House would indulge him while he made a short statement of the real circumstances of the case:—The petition from the inhabitants of Stanhope to his Majesty, praying that the rectory of that parish might not be holden *in commendam* with the see of Exeter, contained three allegations—and only three of any moment. They were as follows:—1st. That “the population of which the rector has the spiritual care, consists of 12,000 inhabitants.”—2d. That “he delegates the spiritual care of these 12,000 souls to a hireling.”—3d. That “the parish pays him a tithe of 4000*l.* a year, and therefore may claim the advantages of a resident rector.” Every one of these allegations was substantially untrue. First, it was alleged that the population consisted of 12,000; whereas, at the last census, under the most extended description which could be given to the district, the numbers were no more than 7341. But of these 7341, the far greater part, no less than 4994, were not placed under the spiritual care of the rector. They belonged to an ancient chapelry, locally situate, indeed, within the limits of the parish of Stanhope, but placed from the earliest times under a distinct minister, with a distinct endowment; and for many years past an entirely independent benefice. Within that chapelry a second independent benefice had recently been erected. Over the incumbents of these two benefices, which were indeed in his patronage, he had no control whatever. In short, instead of 12,000 souls, as was asserted in the petition, 2341 only were under the spiritual care of the rector of Stanhope. The second allegation of the petition was that the rector “delegates the spiritual care of 12,000 inhabitants to a hireling.” It had just been shown that the care of 2341 only could be delegated by him at all. It was delegated during the time of his necessary absence to two resident curates, both of whom were men of education and high character; one of them a man of independent fortune, who had resigned a small living of which he was incumbent, in order to become curate at Stanhope. These curates were not dependents; for when they were licensed, as they were bound to be, they were irremovable, except for some fault of which the Bishop was the judge; and from his sentence they had an

appeal to the Metropolitan.—In short, therefore, instead of “the spiritual care of 12,000 inhabitants being delegated to one hireling,” as was asserted in the petition, the truth was, that 2347 are placed, during the absence of the rector, under the charge of two licensed and responsible curates. The third allegation was, that “the parish pays to the Rector a tithe of 4000*l.* per annum, and, therefore, has a right to the advantages of a resident rector;” whereas, in truth, the whole amount of what was paid to him by the parishioners was something between 500*l.* and 600*l.* per annum, hardly a shilling in the pound on the rental. The great bulk of the emoluments of the living arose from a payment not made by any inhabitants of the parish of Stanhope, nor by persons who could in any sense be called parishioners. It was, in effect, an ancient donation from the See of Durham, made long before the restraining statutes prohibited such an alienation of its funds. That donation conferred on the rector of Stanhope a portion, nominally a tenth, of the ore raised from the lead mines of the See situate within the parish, which portion, amounting in value at present to about three thousand pounds per annum, was paid by the lessees of the Bishop’s mines, who lived at a great distance from Stanhope. There are other considerable mines within the parish, especially those of the Chairman of the Meeting at which the Petition was voted, but neither he nor any other Proprietor, except the Bishop, paid anything whatever to the Rector on account of his mines. That payment, therefore, being the bulk of the income of the living of Stanhope, was taken from the revenues of the See of Durham; and thus that opulent See, so often as the Rectory of Stanhope was holden *in commendam*, contributes to supply the defective endowment of some poorer bishopric; an appropriation so fitting, that this Rectory has repeatedly been made the subject of a *commendam*.

REFORM: THE BALLOT.—Mr. DENHAM presented a Petition from the town of Nottingham and its vicinity. He said that it bore the signature of *more than half the adult inhabitants of that town*. It was drawn up in a moderate and respectful manner, and stated opinions which seemed to him to merit the consideration of the House. The Petitioners believed that the granting of representation to the great towns at present unrepresented would not effect any real improvement in the constitution of that House. They believed that no measure of Reform would give satisfaction to the country *unless it were accompanied by the protection of the ballot*. He said that he fully concurred in the prayer of the Petition; but that with respect to the vote by ballot, it was his opinion that the adoption of that mode of voting was not *expedient* in this country. At the same time, he considered that feeling in favour of the ballot was *so general, and the arguments offered in support of it so plausible*.

sible, as to render it imperative on the House to take the subject into consideration.

Sir R. FERGUSON, in rising to support the petition, thought it right to say, that he concurred in the sentiments expressed by the petitioners. Formerly he had doubts as to the expediency of taking the vote at elections for Members of that House by ballot; but facts had come to his knowledge, since the last election, which convinced him, that without the protection which that mode of taking the vote afforded to the voter, there could be no freedom of election. (Hear.) He felt it his duty to own himself a convert to the ballot. He hoped that the time was arrived when the prayers of the people would be listened to in that House. He trusted that the new ministry would bring forward some measure of effectual Reform.

Mr. O'CONNELL, in presenting a petition from Armagh, in favour of Reform, said, that any measure professing to effect a Reform of Parliament without making a provision for the independence of the electors, by means of the ballot, would be delusive.

I am glad to see converts to the ballot. This petition is deserving of great attention. It is signed, observe, by *more than half the adult inhabitants* of that public-spirited town, Nottingham; and the petitioners declare their repugnance to any Reform without the ballot. Mr. Denman is compelled to confess that the reasons in favour of it are plausible; and, to be sure, it would take a front of brass to deny this. My real opinion is, that the ballot now granted would, of itself, be a sufficient Reform; that is, I think it would be a reformer itself, and would work all that we want, and that, too, in a very short time.

SLAVERY. Twenty-six petitions against.

OFFICIAL SALARIES.—Mr. Hume withdrew his notice of a motion on the subject of reducing the salaries of men in office to the allowance of 1796. He did so in order to give the new ministry a trial, saying, that “he viewed the change which had taken place as to the members of his Majesty’s Government with great satisfaction. It would afford the country hopes of a radical change in the conduct of the public business. The new ministers were pledged to promote Reform, and he was therefore glad to see them in the places of those who were pledged to resist every attempt to

Reform. The new ministry was also pledged to retrenchment, and therefore he, as an advocate for retrenchment, was glad to see such a prospect for the country of its burdens being diminished as the pledge of the ministers afforded. But, if they did not redeem their pledge, they would find him as steady and determined an opponent as he had been to those gentlemen whom they had just succeeded in office. In the mean time, he did not think he would be guilty of neglect of duty in giving them a trial.” (Hear, hear.)

STATE OF THE COUNTRY. On the question of putting off the consideration of Election petitions, in order that members might remain in their districts for the purpose of trying to quell disturbances, Baring said:—“It was far from his wish to spread unnecessary alarm, but he thought that the presence of many Gentlemen was, under existing circumstances, required in their own districts. He believed, however that the disturbances might have been put a stop to long ago, and he hoped they would soon be put a stop to. If any measure could be proposed in that House to enable Gentlemen to go to their districts, when that might be necessary, he would support it; for he considered that no necessity was so pressing, as that of putting an end to the present state of things.”

Upon this, Sir Robert Peel, in plain terms, tells the House that the disturbances must be put down by the *local authorities*, that is, the magistrates and their constables, for that every soldier that can be spared is now off on duty; and he throws the blame of want of sufficient military force *on the House itself!* What economy, then; what retrenchment can be effected by this new ministry? The country cannot bear its load, with the retrenchment that has already been made, and that is found to be *too much retrenchment.*

Sir R. PEEL considered, that by a great and united effort amongst the local authorities, the disturbances might be suppressed. He could undertake to say that every possible aid from the military had been afforded in every quarter, where such aid could be of service.

Every man that could possibly be spared was sent to the disturbed districts, and from the information which he received, he was enabled to state, that wherever any attempt at resistance was made, such resistance proved successful. There was no instance wherein persons refused to sign papers brought to them with the view of procuring reductions of rent, or abolition of tithes, in which such refusal did not lead to an abandonment of the demand. In every case where a steady refusal was given, the disturbers of the public peace were daunted, and nothing like violence was offered; on the contrary, they merely retired with vague threats of returning on some future occasion. It was alleged that in some places there was not a sufficient military or local force to suppress disturbance: supposing the fact to be so, he must take leave to state, that that House was as much responsible for such a state of things as his Majesty's Government, the reduction of the force was merely the work of the legislature, not of the Government. From the moment the country became disturbed, every one of the metropolitan police that could be spared, was sent; and let it be recollected, that their duty did not call upon them to go to the country, their duty merely required their attendance in town; every civil aid was afforded, every military assistance given, even legal advisers were sent down to the local authorities.

Mr. BARING considered that at the outset it would not have been difficult to put down the spirit of outrage that was now unhappily abroad. When it first appeared in Kent, there would have been no great difficulty in suppressing it, when it spread to Sussex it would have been not so easy to put it down, but still not very difficult; when they spread into Hampshire, the difficulty naturally increased; but now that they had reached Wiltshire, the matter had become serious indeed; and were they to continue for three or four days longer, they might prove completely beyond the power of the Government to suppress. Now, if the executive authority had not sufficient force to repress disturbances in one county, how could they be expected to put it down, after it had extended over a dozen counties? It was not for a moment to be doubted, that a little exertion might have put it down at first; whereas it was now spreading from county to county, and from district to district, with a rapidity and a force which the Government might find themselves unable to resist.

November 23.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

LORD BROUGHAM. The Duke of Gloucester informed the Lords that his Majesty had been pleased to raise Henry Brougham, Esq. to the Peerage, under the titles of Baron Brougham of Brougham Hall, in the County of West-

moreland, and Winnesley, in the County of York. Lord Brougham took the oaths, and his seat on the Woolsack.—Some petitions against Slavery were presented, when the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

LORD BROUGHAM. Upon Mr. Rice moving for a new writ of election for the County of York, Mr. Brougham having been made a Peer,

MR. CROKER said, it was impossible to permit that motion, which, considering all the circumstances connected with it, was one of the most important that had ever been made in that House, to pass without making a few observations upon it. It was but one week ago since they had heard in that House the eminent individual referred to, declare that he could not by any possibility form any part of that Government, the creation of which he knew at the time to be inevitable. (Hear, hear! from the new Opposition.) That declaration was a voluntary declaration on the part of the hon. and learned Gentleman, who, however, not content with having made that declaration so positively and so publicly, repeated it voluntarily on the next public occasion that offered itself. He had heard that hon. and learned Gentleman assert, that the character of public men was part of the wealth of England. If that was true at any time, and with respect to any Gentleman, how much more true was it at this moment, and with respect to the character of that man who occupied the station described in the almost sacred terms of the keeper of the King's conscience, and who was invested with the most transcendent powers of the State? If there was any man's character that above all others required to be clear from shuffling and intrigue, it was the character of the Lord High Chancellor of England. He should therefore make no apology for calling the attention of the House to that remarkable declaration to which he had already alluded. He was ready to believe that it was capable of explanation—for explanation it certainly did require. He did not understand why this motion had not been made yesterday. Was it respectful to that House, with two notices of motions on their Order-book—was it respectful, he asked, that that House should not have been informed that that eminent person no longer formed part of their body? Perhaps it might be said, that an explanation could be afforded to this last question. Perhaps it was because the patent of Peerage had not then been made out. But that was no excuse—he had occupied the Great Seal—he occupied the place of Lord Keeper, he sat in the other house of Parliament, exercising the dignity of that high situation, and if, with the breathless haste with which he had taken possession of that office, so that even some technical difficulties in matters of order had

been set aside, in order that he might show himself in his new and splendid character, he had almost said domino, it would at least have been but respectful to that House, that they should have been put in possession of the circumstance as soon as the other House of Parliament. I state this to show what impression has been made on the country by this matter, and to show that some explanation is absolutely necessary. The impressions made on the country were easily observable. By those means of cheap and extensive diffusion of opinion, that opinion could be discovered. The hon. Member then read a paragraph from a country newspaper, which appeared after the declarations, the voluntary declarations, made by the hon. and learned Gentleman. (Hear, hear.) What was the meaning of these declarations? Were they menaces, had he been neglected, or worse than neglected, had he been offered something not worthy his talents and station? If they were so, if they were intended as a spur, as a stimulus, to the lazy gratitude of the First Lord of the Treasury, he asked what confidence could be placed in a Government which was capable of being influenced by such motives? If these declarations were not menaces—if they were uttered in sincerity, it imported much to the country to know what it was that had made so sudden, so decided a change in the honourable and learned Member's opinion. Till it was explained, the character of the noble and learned Lord would be under a cloud, which it behoved those who were able to do, if any were able, to disperse.

Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH rose—not for the purpose of offering any explanation, for to none was the honourable Member entitled. The character of the noble and learned Lord did not need vindication in an assembly of which he had so long been the chief ornament—of which, indeed, it had often been the highest boast and the greatest honour that he had been among the number of its Members. (Hear, hear.) He left the eloquence, the unwearied industry, the undoubted ability, the well-known and well-remembered powers of the honourable and learned Gentleman to answer for him; and in what he should say on this subject, he should but give vent to those feelings which rose within him at this—the most extravagant speech that had ever been heard in either House of Parliament since the very first existence of that body. (Hear, hear.) The honourable Member had said that this matter was probably capable of explanation. It was so. But that explanation had not been properly required. It had been demanded in a violent and disorderly speech—a speech unparalleled in the annals of Parliament, composed of nothing but violations of the orders of that House. He maintained that if any other fit opportunity of asking for the explanation had been likely to occur, occasion should not now have been taken to make a speech full of insinuations of a most serious

kind, coloured, indeed, with a little paltry admission at the end of the sentence that the time for explanation might come, and that explanation might possibly be capable of being afforded. If the matter was capable of explanation, that time was chosen in a manner to make any one believe that it had been expressly selected in order to defy any man making it there. From whom could come the explanation? From the colleagues of the noble and learned Lord, not one of whom was now present. If the hon. Gentleman thought that these circumstances were capable of explanation—if he allowed that there were fit opportunities for demanding it, how came he to choose this most unfit of all opportunities, in the absence of all those who could possibly have given him the explanation he required. He (Sir J. M.) denied that the explanation was due or could be due under any circumstances. Was the House, he would ask, prepared to call for the particulars of the negotiations between the Crown and the persons who now formed his Majesty's Government (hear)—of negotiations which must necessarily be secret? The members of the late ministry—they who had resigned in consequence of the expressed displeasure of that House—would surely not be prepared to make such a call for explanation. There might have been circumstances which, within less than one week after the declarations referred to, had made it necessary for the noble Lord to accept that office, which he at first had not contemplated undertaking. The assertion of the existence of that necessity might have been made had any of that noble Lord's Colleagues been in the House, though the details of it could not be given without an actual breach of duty. But nobody was there to make such an assertion, and the time for demanding an explanation, seemed to him expressly chosen at the very moment when it would be utterly impossible to make any sort of explanation. Nothing but a very strong case of imputation on the character of the noble and learned Lord could justify the speech which the hon. Member had thus, in violation of all order, made respecting him. The words which that hon. Member has quoted were not those which had been uttered by the noble and learned Lord while a Member of that House. Those quoted by the hon. Member were certainly not the same, nor any thing like the same, with the words, as recorded in the authorities from which the hon. Member had, with reference to another matter, been pleased to make his quotations. He did not believe they were the same as those uttered—he would swear to his own understanding of them to be very different. He was not called on to state what was the defence of the noble and learned Lord against these imputations of the hon. Member; but the hon. Member's conduct, to-night had shown the expediency of strictly observing that rule which forbade the words of a Member in one debate being afterwards quoted against him in another.

To say that the hon. Member's speech was disorderly was saying but little; it was a congeries of violations of order. The first violation of order was in his quoting the speech of another Member on a former debate; the second was in bringing an anonymous Yorkshire newspaper as authority for his statements, and, among the rest, as authority for the gossip of the robing-room; the third was, that not content with his own breach of order, he quoted the words of the editor of the paper, and his statement of words uttered by an hon. Member in that House; a statement that could only have been made through a breach of the orders of that House. He was the last person in that House who would wish to narrow the liberty, by the exercise of which the statement of those words had been obtained; but he did object to making use of such statement to cast imputations on the character of the Lord Chancellor of England; it was a practice that he never knew to have been adopted by any man, even engaged in the hottest opposition. No explanation was necessary to be given; but if it was required, and was really meant to be obtained, the hon. Member ought to have waited till the proper time had come for asking it, and ought not thus, irregularly and improperly, to have made an attack on the first Magistrate of the kingdom on the very day when he was about to begin the discharge of his most important duties. (Hear, hear.)

Now, as to the matter of his taking the office of Chancellor, when he had, only a day or two before, declared that he should not belong to the ministry, it is certainly a rapid change of purpose; but, as we do not know all the secret workings and intrigues that were going on, we must be slow to attribute the bare circumstance to a dishonest motive; and I confess that I cannot see any thing at all unnatural in the fact of the head whig lawyer becoming Chancellor when the whigs come into place. It would have been most unnatural in them not to desire to have him in the ministry, and he would have cast a slur and suspicion on them if he had kept aloof. Every-body could see that. Therefore, why should he not be their Chancellor? There are these reasons: *first*, the crazy THING cannot hold together long; to come in, then, is to cast his die; so long as he remains Chancellor, he is high, but, let this ministry be tumbled out, and there he is on the shelf for life. *Second* (and here is the thing really, closely affecting him, and affecting him deeply), he has lately insisted on calling

himself the "Champion of Reform;" he has bawled so loud, has made professions so totally unqualified, has made them so directly in the people's own ear, that to abandon Reform now would sink him in the mind of every man pretending to common honesty. But I will quote his words spoken at a dinner given him at Leeds, to celebrate his return for the County of York. "After contrasting the state of Leeds, populous and unrepresented, with Old Sarum, represented and unpeopled, the Hon. Gentleman declared that as he was now Member for Yorkshire, he would leave in no other man's hands the great cause of Parliamentary Reform. He said I have helped, I have assisted others, hitherto, but I shall now stand forward as the champion of that cause. And, as I have rallied round them for the last twenty years, I expect them now to rally round me, and to strengthen to the utmost those hands into which you have already placed sufficient confidence." In the face of this, indeed, I can understand his dislike to enter a Ministry before he had ascertained that it would not frustrate him in his championship. He is now in a place where he has ten times the power that he had before: will he now, then, exert that power towards obtaining the Reform that he has been "twenty years assisting others" to obtain, and which he will not "now" (August last) "leave in any other man's hands," but, on the contrary, of which he will now be "the Champion?" If he will, he has only become a peer in order to push his principles on with the greater vigour; but, if he will not, then he is on the shelf already; then he has trucked principle for place. The Mr. CROKER who brought on this question of Brougham, is that same gentleman, from the sister Island, who has been for twenty years the Secretary to the Admiralty. The fury of a bull-dog, just choked off, does not exceed that of a bundled-out placeman!

SLAVERY.—Many petitions against—On one being presented from Leeds, a little hoisting of the bristles took place

A MEMBER (whose name we could not learn) contended that the real condition of the slave was not at all known in this country, and that he was, in fact, in a better situation than the greater part of the labouring population in this country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BRISCOE, although he admitted that he was not a statesman felt competent to decide, in the abstract, that slavery was a crime, and a foul stain on the character and honour of Great Britain. He had little expected, when he took his seat in the House of Commons, that he should see the day when such an assertion was made, as that the condition of the slave in the West Indies was preferable to that of the English peasant. He challenged the honourable Gentleman who made this statement to submit the proposal to the most wretched and hopeless of the peasantry, and to be governed by the answer he should receive. As to the rights of the West-India Proprietors, he was ready to give compensation whenever a case of loss could be established.

Have we not seen the confessed falsehoods that have been propagated about the treatment of slaves? and will the canters answer me this one question:—*Have you ever found a dead Negro with nothing in his belly but sour-sorrel?*—Answer me that!

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

THE fires are blazing, more or less, in SIXTEEN of the counties of England; and the farmers appear, in a far greater part of these counties, to make common cause with the labourers. But I have no room for particulars this week.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1830.

INSOLVENT.

Nov. 19.—EVANS, G., Liverpool, provision-dealer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

CROSBY, J., Spofforth, Yorkshire, joiner.

BANKRUPTS.

ANDREW, M., Crown-court, Threadneedle-street, insurance-broker.

ARMSTRONG, H., Castle-street, Leicester-square, oilman.

ARKINSTALL, T., Knighton, Staffordshire, farmer.

CLARK, G., Bowyer-lane, Camberwell, baker.

CLARK, T., Bristol, woollen-draper.

COCKING, T., Nottingham, victualler.

DAYKIN, S., Nuttall, Nottinghamshire, shop-keeper.

DIXON, H., Leadenhall-street, trunk-maker.

FOWLES, J., sen., Avening, Gloucestershire, stone-mason.

GRANT, W., Richmond, linen-draper.

HARDWICK, T., and W. Brown, Leeds, bricklayers.

JOHNSON, V. M., Sheffield, wine-merchant.

LARGE, W., Kingsbury, Middlesex, tallow-chandler.

RIDGE, E., Taunton, Somersetshire, tailor.

RILEY, J., Almondbury, Yorkshire, cassinet-manufacturer.

SIMPSON, J., Nottingham, wharfinger.

TURTILL, J., Regent-street, fancy-ware-houseman.

WHITELEY, W. H., Rosoman-street, Clerkenwell, stove-grate-manufacturer.

WILLIAMS, W., Manchester, merchant.

WOODHEAD, A., Salford, Lancashire, common brewer.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1830.

INSOLVENTS.

Nov. 22.—ALEWYN, J., 123, Fenchurch-street, merchant.

Nov. 20.—BLINMAN, T., Bristol, brazier, brassfounder and coppersmith.

Nov. 22.—PRONCKERT, C. P., 22, Jewry-street, Aldgate, ironfounder.

Nov. 23.—WHITEBOURN, D., Darkhouse-lane, Lower Thames-street, fishmonger.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

LEE, J., Hanover Arms, Brighthelmstone, Sussex, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

ADRON W., and C. Adron, New-road, St. Pancras, and of Buckingham-street, Fitzroy-square, marble and stone-masons.

ANDREWS, J. N., late of Northampton, victualler and corn-dealer.

CLARKSON, J., late of Kington-upon-Hull, and of Goole, general agent and commission-broker, and now of Sculcoats, Yorkshire, victualler.

COLSON, H., Clapton, Middlesex, coach-proprietor.

CULLINGFORD, R., late of Mary-la-bonne-lane, victualler.

EMDEN, S., Bucklersbury, merchant and commission-agent.

FIELDING, J., and Jeremiah Fielding, Catterall and Manchester, calico-printers.

HARRISON, H., Manchester, merchant.

HEBERT, H., late of No. 74, Lemon-street, Goodman's-fields, and now of the Retreat, South Lambeth, wine-merchant.

HODSOLL, W., jun., South Ash, and St. Mary's Cray, Kent, paper-maker.

HOLLAND, T., Birmingham, japanner.

PARKIN, J., Sheffield, fender and Britannia-metal, manufacturer.

PONGERARD, F., late of Fenchurch-street, merchant.

PREECE, T., Lye-court, Sarnesfield, Herefordshire, farmer.

SHACKLEFORD, F., Andover, Hampshire, draper.

WHARE, J., Leeds, hatter and furrier.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, Nov. 22.—The supply of fine English Wheat being so very short, and the demand rather brisk, have caused an advance in that quality of 2s. per quarter. Foreign and inferior sorts have not felt the rise. Barley does not meet with ready sales, and those few which have been effected are at a reduction of 1s. per quarter. The Oat trade is very heavy, and the prices inclining lower. Fine White Peas are considerably advanced, probably owing to Government wishing to contract for a quantity of them. Beans are 1s. to 2s. higher. The arrivals in the last week of Grain and Flour have been very deficient, the latter continuing without alteration in price.

Wheat	64s. to 74s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
Barley	32s. to 40s.
— fine	40s. to 42s.
Peas, White	54s. to 56s.
— Boilers	52s. to 60s.
— Grey	38s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 44s.
— Tick	36s. to 38s.
Oats, Potatoe	28s. to 30s.
— Poland	24s. to 27s.
— Feed	20s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.
Rape Seed, per last	42l. to 44l.

SMITHFIELD—Nov. 22.

The supply of Beasts is very small, and we have not so many Sheep as on Monday last. The only alteration in the prices of Meat are an advance of 2d. in Mutton and Pork from Thursday's prices. Clover is 5s. lower, Straw, 2s. cheaper.

Beef	3s. 6d. to 4s. 0d.
Mutton	4s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.
Veal	4s. 4d. to 5s. 0d.
Pork	4s. 0d. to 4s. 8d.

SMITHFIELD, Thursday.—This day's supply was, throughout, very limited; and in great part of middling and inferior quality. A few prime small Calves, and the primest Sheep and Beasts sold with some degree of briskness; the former at an advance of about 2d. per stone; the two latter at Monday's currency, at which the trade was otherwise very dull.—In Milch Cows next to nothing was doing—Prime Beef, from 3s. 2d. to 3s. 10d.; middling Beef, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d.; inferior Beef, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; prime Mutton, 3s. 4d. to 4s. 4d.; middling Mutton, 2s. 6d. to 3s.; inferior Mutton, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.; Veal, 3s. 4d. to 5s. 2d.; Pork, 3s. 2d. to 4s. 8d.—per stone of 8lbs., to sink the offal.—Suckling Calves, from 12s. to 42s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each.—Supply, as per Clerk's statement; Beasts, 432; Sheep 3,230; Calves, 169; Pigs, 140.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, old ..	34s. to 32s. per cwt.
— new ..	46s. to 47s.
— Sides, old ..	35s. to 32s.

Bacon, Middles new ..	46s. to 48s.
Beef, India, new ...	100s. to 102s. 6d. per tr.
— Mess, new	60s. to —s. per barrel.
Pork, India, new ..	100s. to 105s.
— Mess, new ...	58s. to 60s. per barrel.
— old ...	55s. to 57s. 6d.
— India, old	110s. per tierce.
Butter, Belfast ...	102s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow ...	100s. to 105s.
— Cork ...	102s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire, new	48s. to 66s.
Lard	68s. to 70s.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Nov. 26.

The supply of Wheat being small, rather more money is obtained for the best samples. There are good supplies of Barley and Oats, and the prices have given way 1s. per quarter. Beans and Peas without any alteration in price.

English arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour . . . 7,100		
Wheat . . . 1,500	290	
Barley . . . 8,020		
Oats . . . 4,900	250	1,350

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	83½	82½	82½	83½	82½	83½

CHEAP CLOTHING!—SWAIN and CO. CLOTHIERS, TAILORS, AND DRAPERS, No. 93, Fleet Street, (a few doors below the new entrance to St. Bride's Church,) beg to inform the Public, that they (manufacturing their own Woollen Goods) are enabled to make a SUIT of SAXONY CLOTH CLOTHES for £4 10s., and every other Article of Clothing proportionably Cheap, which has rendered them at once the "envy of surrounding TAILORS, and the admiration of the Town"! N.B. Their Shop is 93, Fleet Street.

USEFUL ARTS.—MR. PROSPER (Author of a Treatise on Steam), after great labour and numerous experiments, which have occupied the last ten years of his life, has discovered many Improvements in various Branches of the USEFUL ARTS, which he intends Publishing by Subscription, in detached Volumes; one to appear every Two Months: the First Volume, price 20s., will contain a Method for considerably augmenting the Product of Grain and all Vegetable Productions, improving their quality, and doing great service to the soil without any additional expense. Subscribers are requested to forward their names (by letter, post paid) to Mr. Prosper, 21, Gloucester-street, Queen's-square, without delay, as, to prevent plagiarism, it is not intended to be circulated until a sufficient number of applications are received for copies.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.